

BRILL'S STUDIES IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

General Editor

A.J. VANDERJAGT, University of Groningen

Editorial Board

M. COLISH, Oberlin College

J.I. ISRAEL, University College, London

J.D. NORTH, University of Groningen

H.A. OBERMAN, University of Arizona, Tucson

R.H. POPKIN, Washington University, St. Louis — UCLA

VOLUME 21



QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN AND HER CIRCLE

*The Transformation of a
Seventeenth-Century Philosophical Libertine*

BY

SUSANNA ÅKERMAN



E.J. BRILL
LEIDEN • NEW YORK • KØBENHAVN • KÖLN
1991

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Åkerman, S.

Queen Christina of Sweden and her Circle: the transformation of a seventeenth-century philosophical libertine / by S. Åkerman.

p. cm.—(Brill's studies in intellectual history. ISSN 0920-8607; v. 21)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 90-04-09310-9

1. Kristina, Queen of Sweden, 1626-1689. 2. Sweden-Kings and rulers-Biography. 3. Philosophy, Modern-17th century. I. Title.

II. Series.

DL719.A44 1990

948.5'02'092—dc20

90-42995

[B]

CIP

ISSN 0920-8607

ISBN 90 04 09310 9

© Copyright 1991 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by E. J. Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to Copyright Clearance Center, 27 Congress Street, SALEM MA 01970, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

*In memory of
Kristina Winberg*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	xi
Acknowledgements	xiv
PART I THE PROBLEM	
<i>I. The Problem of Christina's Abdication</i>	3
Abdication	6
Conversion	6
<i>II. Doubts and Irreligious Scepticism</i>	14
A Problematic Catholicism	14
On Reading Queen Christina—the “E-Silentio Proofs	18
Christina and Irreligious Scepticism	28
<i>III. Christina and Descartes: Disassembling a Myth</i>	44
The Meeting	47
The Correspondence	52
Ernst Cassirer's claims	55
The Search after Truth	62
The Two Characters	64
PART II CHRISTINA'S PHILOSOPHY	
<i>IV. Gassendi, Atoms and the World Soul of Epicureans</i>	73
Leibniz' View on Christina's Doctrine of the World	
Soul	79
<i>V. Hermetic Philosophy</i>	85
Friedrich Menius and Spiritual Atomism	87
Georg Stiernhielm, Johan Bureus, and the Gothic	
Kabbalah	91
PART III THE SWEDISH-BALTIC BACKGROUND	
<i>VI. Christina Minerva and the Ancient Model of Learning</i>	103
The Stockholm Academy	104
Theological Linguistics: Taxonomy, Relativism,	
Nationalism	108
Christina Alexandra, Linguistics, and the Goths	118
<i>VII. Neo-Stoic Pan-Protestants, and the Monarchy</i>	122
The Messenius Plot and Bengt Skytte	123
Bengt Skytte, Comenius, and “Sophopolis”	125
Negotiations for Church Unity and the Reform of	
Schools	130

Heinrich Hein, the Baltic Antilia, and the Rosicrucians	137
<i>VIII. The Hermetic Order of the Amaranthe</i>	144
Comenius and the Bohemian War	152
 PART IV MILLENARIANISM AND POLITICS	
<i>IX. The Abdication: Altering the Sacred Destiny</i>	157
The Conjunction of Saturn and Mars in the Sign of the Lion	161
Charles Gustavus and the Millenarian Hopes	165
Theatrum Cometicum	170
<i>X. Christina and the Jews</i>	178
Hebraism	182
Jewish Bankers	187
Philo-Semitic Intervention	193
<i>XI. The Messianic Drama: The Year 1655</i>	196
Isaac La Peyrère, Antonio Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel	202
Christina's Grand Plan in Flanders, 1655	214
<i>XII. Christina in Rome — Antiquity and the Militant Church</i>	225
The Refutation of Scepticism in Christina's Academy, 1656	228
The Paris Academy and the Crown of Naples	230
<i>XIII. The Polish Election — The Last Wasa Throne</i>	234
Christina in Hamburg	234
Stanislaus Lubieniecki, Spy and Socinian	235
The Argument for the Polish Throne, 1667	239
<i>XIV. Leibniz, Marana, and the Turkish Mirror</i>	245
The Turkish Spy	249
<i>XV. The Roman Academies: Providentialism and Science</i>	254
Christina Alexandra as "Basilissa" of the Arcadia	259
Certitude, Archeology, and Monumentalism	262
 PART V CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD SOUL PHILOSOPHY	
<i>XVI. Alchemy, the World Soul, and the Heretics of Rome</i>	270
Counter-Reform Rosicrucians? — A Problem for the History of Rome	274
Christina's Alchemical Manuscripts	276
<i>XVII. Christina and Molinos' Quietism</i>	284
 FINALE: AFTER IMAGES	
<i>XVIII. Christina Alexandra: Woman, Ruler, and the Lost Dominion</i>	297

TABLE OF CONTENTS

vii

<i>APPENDIX I: CHRISTINA'S WRITTEN COMPOSITIONS</i>	308
<i>APPENDIX II: THE LIBERTINE PAMPHLETS</i>	310
Manuscripts and Rare Sources	316
Bibliography	320
Index	332

By the entrance on the evening side hangs an extraordinary painting showing the damned in Hell. The martyred passions of their faces are vividly depicted. The fires in the background, the huge dragon that bites through half the head of a miserable one, and the blood that pours forth, almost come to life. A woman, with the most beautiful body in the world, lies there. She holds her hand decorated by precious stones before her face, and she is stung by a snake. Some say that one originally could see her face, but as it was noticed that the features were those of the Swedish Queen Christina . . . the painter was forced to conceal the face by adding the hand. An old man is at her side—his eyes are turned upwards towards the Heavens, but his face expresses nothing but a terrible and unbearable pain.

Description of a lost painting
in the Monastery of Mary Magdalena
Hamburg 1683.



Christina receives the Herculean Arms from Gustavus II Adolphus (d. 1632).
B.P. von Chemnitz' *Krieges Geschichte*, vol. 2 (Stockholm, 1653), Royal Library,
Stockholm.

PREFACE

Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689) has made distinct marks in the annals; as the errant daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, as the Catholic convert, as the icy model for Greta Garbo in an everlasting sequence on the silverscreen. Above all, she is remembered for her academic patronage in Italy. My aim in presenting her as a philosophical libertine is to give clearer voice to some pamphlets produced in Brussels, Paris, and Rome in the year 1655 and thereafter. They are a varied collection, appearing in both the Catholic and Protestant world, but all build on two controversial claims: that the Swedish Queen converted to Catholicism for political reasons and that her attempt to make herself out to be a theologically skilled monarch had a political goal. Thus, they highlight the problem raised some forty years ago by the evidence collected in René Pintard's seminal chronicle *Le Libertinage Erudit*: to definitively decide whether Christina's conversion was sincere or whether we should regard it a classic case of dissimulation and disbelief.

An important feature of these pamphlets (see Appendix II) is their display of contemporary reactions to the very notion of a monarch leaving her throne. The speedy production and wide dissemination of pamphlets like *Le Genie de la reyne Christine* show that the Queen's abdication was given a special significance. Their evidence that Christina's personal views had relevance in the early formation of a subculture of opposition to religious and state institutions has convinced me that also her conversion needs re-examination.

In Part I, therefore, I examine the problem involved in the traditional interpretation of the Queen as a Christian convert. The reports of Christina's Jesuit instructors can be taken on faith, but they do not preclude that her conversion primarily was a political act. By considering the mythical character of Descartes' "Catholic" influence on Queen Christina, the Queen's irreligious scepticism is instead brought to the foreground. Yet, an answer to the problem of her philosophy cannot be found in Cartesian arguments, it must be sought in other belief systems.

The main body of the text beginning in Parts II and III, consists of a presentation of two new elements in Christina's development. First, I show that the Queen's ideas on immortality, and especially Leibniz' report on her adoption of a philosophical belief in a single

universal spirit, account for the contemporary rumours about her libertine, or heterodox, religious opinions.

The spiritual atomism of Swedish-Baltic philosophers may have been a factor in Christina's statement that Lucretius' philosophy is her religion. The revelance of her correspondence with the French atomist Pierre Gassendi is then considered, as is also the work of the many foreign scholars that arrived in Stockholm in the 1650's to participate in Queen Christina's center of learning.

Second, in Part IV, I argue that the importance of Christina's abdication and conversion to Catholicism in 1655, as viewed by her contemporaries, was due to millenarian/messianic expectations seen to be confirmed by the comet of 1652 and the two following solar eclipses. There are observers who saw her abdication and subsequent political moves in the Spanish Netherlands as a moment in their religious and political strife for a unified Europe. I show that this sort of political perception may explain Christina's diplomatic aims during the first few years after the abdication, including her attempt in 1656 to set herself up as the future monarch of Naples. Her support of Isaac La Peyrère's work on men before Adam poses the question of her relationship to the Prince of Condé, and to those who argued that Condé was the legitimate heir to the throne in France.

In Part V, I return to Leibniz' description of the Queen's beliefs, and in accord with his view I detail how it provides a foundation both for Christina's practice in alchemy and her late Quietist mysticism. I thus come to the conclusion that if Christina consciously adopted the belief that is described in *Le Genie*, then her intellectual interest throughout her life may form a consistent pattern. An important consequence is that given her belief, one can explain why both libertine and conservative aspects have appeared as simultaneously justifiable perspectives on the Queen. The conservative factor in her belief became dominant only after the refutation of scepticism at her academy in Rome in 1656. Historically, however, use of the libertine aspect has been more fruitful, particularly in the emerging critique of kingship and royal grace, as is shown in Part VI—the last chapter.

These new perspectives on Queen Christina's intellectual development contribute to discerning why former scholars have felt compelled to conclude that she was an incoherent character, one who wished to annoy and provoke, but who did not think through her positions thoroughly enough to be aware of their inconsistency. The commentators simply did not calculate with the kind of comprehensive belief that Leibniz describes. This book is meant to

set his description in adequate historical context for us to evaluate the pamphlets, and for us to see why Christina pursued some kinds of scientific knowledge by preference.

In what follows, I concentrate not on the refutation of particular claims made by previous historians, but rather I argue for the significance of Christina's acts in new contexts. Leaving the thoroughly studied relations between the Queen and the Jesuits aside for the most part, I examine the ideas and fortunes of several intellectuals who had a decisive influence on Christina's career: Pierre Michon Bourdelot, Isaac Vossius, Claude Saumaise, Johan Adler Salvius, Bengt Skytte, Isaac La Peyrière, Michel Le Blon, Menasseh ben Israel, Stanislaus Lubieniecki and Antonio Vieira. New information about these hitherto neglected personalities in Queen Christina's circle together with the evidence that she was vitally concerned with their ideas, as well as the background history of European unification plans, explain the symbolic role of her abdication, both in her Swedish court and throughout her later life in exile.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My work on this study has grown from a series of discussions with my thesis director Richard H. Popkin during my visits in St. Louis and Los Angeles, and at various libraries in Europe and America. For some years he had been struck by the oddity of the fact that a famous convert, the Swedish Queen, shortly after her abdication in 1654 emerges as the only known financial backer of the book on Bible criticism, *Men Before Adam*, written by the heretic millenarian Isaac La Peyrére. He suggested to me that a study of Queen Christina's intellectual circle might dissolve the mystery of her abdication, as well as bringing detailed evidence for how currents of scepticism and millenarianism could influence politicians to take to new action—a problem of some concern to seventeenth century studies. At the same time, Professor Richard A. Watson has been tireless in conveying how disquieting it is that we lack a historical context for the death of Descartes. I thank them both for their help in carrying my study through.

A number of people have been helpful in various ways during the process of writing and research: Ruth Spalding who let me see her manuscript edition of Bulstrode Whitelocke's *Memoirs*, Robert S. Westman in discussing Hermeticism and early commentaries on Genesis, the historians Allison Coudert, Sarah Hutton, David Katz, and James Robertson in helping me find my way in London and its libraries. Arne Danielsson by his elegant analysis of Christina's equestrian portrait has provided a timely and concrete example of how there can be a hidden sense. Arne Wettermark and Kjell Lekeby have shared with me certain crucial insights from their research in Stockholm about Christina's al-chemy and astrology, and have directed me to Johan Nordström's important uncatalogued papers at Uppsala. I would like to extend my thanks also to them.

In my research I have depended on the reliable and easy access to the library collections of Kungliga Biblioteket and Riksarkivet, Stockholm; Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala; The University Libraries of Amsterdam and Leiden; The William Andrews Clark Library and the UCLA Library, Los Angeles; The Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel; The British Library and the Warburg Institute Library, London; The Bodleian Library, Oxford; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana; The Bildtiana of the Swedish Institute, Rome; The Vatican Microfilm reading

room, St. Louis University and the Olin Library, Washington University in St. Louis.

I dedicate this book to the memory of my godmother, who in so many ways showed that one person's generosity can make a great deal of difference in many people's lives. Like her namesake, she possessed all the personal qualities that make up a great patronesse; an intangible character that I have not attempted to illustrate here, as my focus has been the intellectual currents in Christina's time.

PART I
THE PROBLEM

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTINA'S ABDICATION

Why did Queen Christina abdicate? The existential moment of her abdication must be the clue to a coherent view of her life and to her own self-understanding. Some of her contemporaries saw the abdication as connected to her conversion, thus tracing her dissatisfaction with the throne to a religious constraint.¹ But did the Queen really undergo a spiritual conversion? From the beginning there were serious doubts about her behaviour: Why did she act in such blasphemous ways in Brussels 1654, reading Vergil during sermons and cursing indiscriminately?² What caused the Pope in 1656 to warn her several times about her behaviour in Rome? How could she later that year say that Lucretius' philosophy was her religion? Was it true when people said that she spoke like a fallen woman rehearsing the verses of Petronius Arbiter by heart?³ Was she a dissenter in Catholic garb and a malcomported garb at that?

In 1655, the Prince of Condé met Christina in Antwerp and emerged with strong doubts about the future of their joint negotiations for a general peace between France and Spain. He wrote:

Les peuples, et surtout les religieux, commencerent a semer des bruits contre cette proposition de paix, disant que jamais Dieu ne la serviroit, tant qu'une reyne qui ne cognoissoit point de Dieu ni de religion, qui n'avoit que des discours libertines dans sa bouche, et qui auctorisoit mesmes en plus les vices de toutes les nations et de tous les sexes, et qui ni disoit pas une parole qui ne fut meslée de blasphemie, s'en mesleroit. La mauvaise reputation en laquelle elle se mettoit (quoyque vous savez,

¹ The official Catholic report on the conversion in Innsbruck 1656 tries to make this inference indubitable, see Pietro Sforza Pallavicino, *La descrizione del primo vaggio fatto a Roma dalla Regina di Svezia*. 1838, also in *Della vita di Alessandro VII*. 1839. Swedish transl. Sven Stolpe, *Drottning Kristinas vag till Rom*. 1966.

² On cursing, “par la mort Dieu”, “par la teste de Dieu”, see the revealing letter of Prince de Condé to Comte de Fiesque, January 1655, reprinted in Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé* 1892. Vol. VI, pp. 698–708, esp. p. 705. Similar recordings in French letters stem from Christina's visit to Paris 1656–57.

³ On Lucretius, see F. U. Wrangel, *Drottning Kristinas resa från Rom till Franska Hovet*. 1923. On Petronius, *Receuil de quelques pieces curieuses, servant à l'éclaircissement de l'histoire de la vie de Christine* (anon.) 1668. p. 42: “Elle scait par coeur les plus passages de Petronius arbiter & les verses les plus sales dissolus Martialis. Elle parle de la Sodome avec la plus d'effronterie, que si elle an avoit fait leçon dans la Colisée de Rome . . . qu'elle aille se faire couronner dans Sodome.”

je ne sois pas scrupuleux) me faisoit peine parce que j'étois tout a fait dans ses interests et que j'aymois sa personne.⁴

The suspicions against the ex-Queen were widespread and although she was received by Pope Alexander VII in Rome in 1656, Christina's unofficial reputation did not much change. Saint-Evremond relates how people in the Paris salons continued to discuss the case of Queen Christina's abdication: Was not her renunciation of the crown different from that of Emperor Charles V who in old age in 1555 had left his empire for a spiritual retreat? Had she not fooled herself, had she not given away worldly power for an existence in a political void, was not the abdication in such early years the height of wastefulness?⁵

For some, all this could be explained as a mere consequence of the Queen's Nordic, barbaric, and nervous temperament that never should have been given such freedoms in the first place. Also, Swedish noblemen such as Arvid Ivarsson Natt och Dag expressed a low opinion of her journey to Rome: "I do not regard such actions as piety, or as real devotion, but more as desertion, and the sign of a feeble and volatile spirit."⁶ Others rushed to issue statements in order to rectify her image. As the debate now stands it is still difficult to arbitrate between those who believe Christina was sincere and those who think she went to Rome for political and financial reasons. Doubts about whether she had any serious intentions to change her beliefs (based on what she actually does as

⁴ Le Grand Condé to de Fiesque January 1655, quoted in Rene Pintard, *Le Libertinage érudit* 1943. p. 398.

⁵ Letter of Saint-Evremond to Le Comte d'Olonne in 1656: A debate follows on the claim that if the Queen had only known the customs of her country she would still be there. Instead she has now lost her Kingdom, and *that* is what her science and "belles lumiere" have produced. In defense of the Queen, some people respond that one should not impute that "le plus belles action de sa vie" was a crime and that her act is as admirable as Charles V's (who in Brussels 1555 abdicated for a retirement in a monastery) or Diocletian's (who gave up his empire). But the sceptics continue to say that in that case one must compare her with Caesar and Alexander the Great, and they did not freely give up their might. Now surely, to be successful in France one needs no tomes of study, "Du Latin! De mon temps, du Latin! . . . Peu de latins, Vous dis-je, & et du bon Francois." (Comp. Christina's much later Maxim: "Diocletian eut raison de refuser l'empire qu'il avoit quitté.")

⁶ Axel Ivarsson Natt och Dag's Note book in Paris 1656, quoted by Kurt Johaneson, *I Polstjärnan's tecken* 1968. Comp. Bengt Oxenstierna's note as resident in Vienna 15 December 1655: he cannot imagine that Christina could have converted for religious reasons—everything that religion denotes is alien to her. Related in Bertil Sundberg, *Den Skiten Per Andersson—en lycksökare från Christinas tid* 1967. p. 161.

opposed to what she later says) are grounded in the fact that in her youth Christina took risks that she later tried to rationalize and even suppress. But an existential break such as an abdication and a conversion may appear as much more consistent when they have been assimilated to a new standpoint—a process that may take several years.

The complexities involved in making a psychological study of Queen Christina's case have resulted in several rival hypotheses. The different views presented by the Swedish historians Carl Bildt, Johan Nordström, Curt Weibull, Sven Stolpe, and Sven Ingmar Olofsson, and their critics, have more or less culminated in the modern schoolbook view that Christina's abdication is related to her rejection of marriage and that her conversion to Catholicism was anomalous, but sincere, and provided her with greater freedom to be herself.⁷ Christina did make known that what drew her to Catholicism was its image of Mary; in an act of devotion in Loreto 1656, she let a scepter mounted by a crown be set in the hands of the sculpted Madonna.⁸

The schoolbook version affirms that Christina became Catholic first through her contact with Chanut and Descartes, and then through her secret discussions with Jesuits in the years 1651–1652. The abdication was a consequence of her inability to accept the traditional woman's role, with a consequent inability to continue the Royal line. But the use of this version has come to obscure the historical alternatives, and thus the interesting intellectual forces behind her abdication have come to be treated as mere peripheral ideology. Instead, to see the real story unfold, one must realize that, in spite of Christina's later rectifying explanations, her religious scepticism reported from various sources did emanate from a clear lack of a Christian attitude.

The difficult problem for historians has been to portray Christina's acts in a way that resolves the conflicts seen in her anomalous

⁷ Carl Bildt, *Christine de Suède et le Cardinal Azzolino* 1899. Curt Weibull, *Drottning Christina* 1931. Idem. "Drottning Kristinas övergång till Katolicismen" *Scandia* 1 1928. pp. 215–257. Johan Nordström, "Cartesius och Drottning Kristinas omvälvelse", *Lychnos* 1940. Also Nils Ahnlund, "Drottning Kristinas tronsävsagelse—nagra randanmarkningar." *Personhistorisk Tidskrift* 1943. pp. 196–214. Sven Ingmar Olofsson: *Drottning Kristinas tronsävsagelse och trosförändring*. 1953. Sven Stolpe, *Drottning Christina*. 1982 (1960, 61). Curt Weibull, "Drottning Kristinas tronsävsagelse och trosskifte". *Scandia* 28 1962. pp. 196–326.

⁸ Loreto, 8 December 1655. But compare the instruction from the Vatican Curia to Lucas Holstenius where it is said that her journey to Loreto must be undertaken and be made public, and that her heretic librarian, Isaac Vossius, must be removed before she can enter Rome. 16 October 1655. Barb. Ms. Lat. 6487. f. 39. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

nature. To make the case clearer I use the expedient of providing a simplified overview of the main interpretations and I follow the sceptics in assuming that the reasons for the abdication are separable from those for the conversion.

Abdication:

1. An act of spiritual conviction where a sincere Catholicism was understood as incompatible with living in Sweden. (Stolpe)
2. An act of irresponsibility, to secure her own personal happiness and to satisfy her fancy in pursuing the arts. (Bildt)
3. An act of dissatisfaction with being a female ruler, rooted in her inability to take on the marriage duty. To save the monarchy and the lawful heritage of the crown, she chose to secure it for her cousin Charles Gustavus. (Olofsson, Weibull)
4. An heroic act of abstention from power; being the first to abdicate young, Christina can fulfil an extraordinary destiny. (Christina's autobiography)
5. A theologico-political act whereby Christina transmits her superior power to someone who, for the moment, is better equipped to govern the military, whereas she as an unbound royalty can cause the formation of a new political constellation in Europe. (My hypothesis)

Conversion:

1. A drawing near to the true origins of faith, a travel to the center of worldly and ecclesiastical power. (Jesuit reports, Nordström)
2. A disordered personal search for satisfaction with a pursuit of diversions wherever they were to be found in conjunction with glory, power, and money. (Protestant pamphlets, Bildt)
3. A personal attraction to Spain and a stay in Rome as a political concession to be used as a papal instrument, maybe for reasons of a general peace. (Diplomatic reports, Weibull, Olofsson)
4. A Catholic conviction as a retreat from her corrupt Nordic environment with a period of dissimulation (made easier by her habitual blasphemy) to avoid losing her Swedish financing while in the Spanish Netherlands. (Stolpe, Olofsson).
5. A non-conformist deism combined with a Hermetic/neo-Platonic metaphysics as a basis for her self-image as an agent in European politics. Finally, after a financial and political decision to stay in Rome, she develops a universalism not central to most Christians in the Catholic world. (My hypothesis)

As the above schema shows, I draw attention to two new phases in Christina's development. First, the Queen's ideas on immortality, and especially Leibniz' report on her adoption of a philosophical belief in a single universal spirit, is important new information in evaluating Curt Weibull's conclusion that one has misread the statements about Christina's libertinism. To Weibull, there is as little necessity in the conclusion that Christina was a libertine as there is, as he writes, in the claim that a person who reads Sartre's *Being and Nothingness* is an existentialist. By this comment he meant to imply that her readings were merely an intellectual fashion. On the contrary, I believe that Christina's Hermetic/Neo-Platonic readings together with Leibniz' description of her belief is valuable contextual evidence that the libertine attribution was true.

Second, there is evidence showing that the Queen's abdication and subsequent political moves in the Spanish Netherlands were taken to confirm widespread millenarian/messianic expectations. Drawing on this evidence, I attempt to provide the missing link in answering three questions not adequately dealt with by others: a) why Christina after the abdication went to Belgium, b) why she converted in Brussels of all places, and c) why she stayed there for so long before leaving for Rome. The best previous study that deals with some aspects of this scenario is Carl Burenstam's rare essay, *La reine Christine de Suède à Antwerp et Bruxelles 1654–55*, printed in 1891 in only 150 copies. Since it is a descriptive, and very close, study of the events in Belgium, their larger significance remains to be conveyed. A work that completes the picture is Weibull's study of Christina's diplomatic aims surrounding her murder of Monaldescho in 1657. I believe that even this murder shows her affected by millenarian ideas and that they are relevant to the formation of Christina's steps the first few years after the abdication. Her attempt in 1656 to set herself up as the future monarch of Naples must be seen with its pre-history.

Unlike the tradition, I do not treat Christina's scepticism and religious anomaly as merely transitory. Curt Weibull in particular has argued that the evidence of a libertine period in Christina's life is exaggerated and that such claims in fact are based on nothing else than uninformed reports by persons without direct access to the inner circles of the court.⁹ Weibull instead bases his work on

⁹ For a criticism of this aspect of Curt Weibull's Christina image, see C. O. Boggild-Andersen, "Dronning Christina" *Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift*. 10:2 1932–34, pp. 92–106. She refers the reader to Ambassador Peder Juel's letters to Charisius that give us a much less sublimated view of the Queen and the court. *DHT* 1:5, pp. 269–408.

diplomatic material with strictly political content containing reports on her high morality, such as the memoirs of the French ambassador Chanut.¹⁰ As a consequence, Curt Weibull's work systematically discounts sources that contradict his own view of Christina. Through his study of diplomatic sources, Weibull was able to dispel the romanticism that had arisen over Christina's murder of her servant Monaldescho in 1657, but his resulting portrayal is an improbable diplomatic hagiography showing Christina as a political strategist undaunted by existential qualms. Sven Stolpe is more sensitive to the provenience of such sources, but his perception of Christina as a sincere Catholic drive him to explain away most of the anomalous information.¹¹ As a result of Weibull's and Stolpe's view of Christina as impeccable they come to regard the abdication as being in itself without political significance. Weibull argues that the abdication was logically necessary as an end to an unsuccessful reign. Stolpe emphasizes it as an element in the private psychology of Christina's religious development. Instead, I show that the abdication has an unexplored political and religious dimension.

Sven Stolpe thinks that Christina's early classical Stoicism, tempered by her austere Nordic ideal of military power, suddenly turned into a libertine interest in shocking ideas through her contacts with French radical culture. This libertinism underwent a gradual development into Catholicism starting only around 1670, reaching its fullest intensity in her mature years in Molinos' odd type of Quietist mysticism. Stolpe also argues that Christina mistakenly had thought that Catholicism would fit with her newly kindled fervor for libertine ideas—a belief that turned out to be wrong. As a consequence, Christina had to adjust her attitude, which began with her meeting with Cardinal Azzolino in Rome. Sven Stolpe's central evidence comes from the 1655 open letter to Chanut where Christina speaks of rectifying her image, a theme elaborated *ad nauseam* in her late autobiography.¹²

Ernst Cassirer attempts another approach. He argues that Ca-

¹⁰ Memoirs de Pierre Chanut, translated and edited by Curt Weibull, *Drottning Christina och Sverige 1646–1651—En Fransk diplomat berättar*. 1970.

¹¹ Curt Weibull, *Christina och Monaldescho*. 1936. Sven Stolpe *Fran Stoicism till Mystik* 1959.

¹² Christina to Pierre Chanut, 1654 public print in French and Dutch reprinted in Johan Arckenholtz, *Mémoires concernant Christine reine de Suède* 1751–60. Vol. I. pp. 396–398. Already eight years earlier, in 1646, she had told Chanut about “le dessein de mon abdication, cette fantasie.” His public sentiments on her behaviour in Antwerp under the auspices of the Spanish Ambassador Pimentel are misguided, she says, and she goes on with a fierce and boastful Stoicism:

tholicism as a rational belief system has an appeal unparalleled by a less intellectualized, Lutheran belief.¹³ Cassirer thus thinks that there were internal reasons for the conversion which would appeal to Christina, used as she was to careful reasoning. He also tries to show that in 1650 Descartes was responsible for making the pivotal arguments clear to her. But as I will show below in detail Cassirer's conclusion is not of itself convincing. Christina was also in contact with several Protestant rationalists who would argue without a Catholic appeal to authority and tradition. Instead, Christina's movement towards altering her faith was far more complex than either Stolpe or Cassirer conceive. Several pieces of evidence, starting with her confession of an early religion "à ma mode" indicate that to give a consistent description of her religious views one must seek other possible belief systems than the ones so far considered.¹⁴

Perhaps the most influential account of Christina's conversion derives from the tradition of Leopold von Ranke's chapter, "A digression concerning Queen Christina", in his work on the history of the Popes where the immediate cause of the conversion is held to be the secret contact with the Jesuit Macedo, the confessor of the Portuguese Ambassador.¹⁵ In 1651, they frequently discussed Catholicism, and then Christina sent for two mathematically inclined Jesuits, Malines and Casati, who furthered the secret discussions. The intrigue involved letters where Christina used the code name "Dr. Theophilo" and other acts of dissimulation. Another less considered Jesuit probe came from the Spanish legate in Copenhagen, Bernardino de Rebolledo, who sent the Flemish Jesuit Gottfried Francken to the Queen when she made known that she intended to abdicate. In 1652, the Belgian Jesuit Philippe

Je n'apprendre point cette providence dont vous me parlez. *Omnia sunt propitia*, soit qu'elle vucille prendre la peyne de regler mes affaars, je me soumets avec respect & la resignation, que je doit à ses volontez: soit qu'elle me laisse la conduite de moi mesme, j'employeray ce qu'elle m'a donné de facultez dans l'ame, & dans l'entendement, pour me rendre heureuse & je le seray, tant que je seray persuadée, que je ne doir rien craindre, ny des hommes, ny de Dieu. J'employerai ce qui me reste de vie, à me familiariser du part les torments de ceux, qui sont agitez dans la vie, par les orages, que l'on y souffre, faute d'avoir appliqué l'esprit à ces pensées. Ne suis je pas digne d'envie dans l'estat, où je suis . . .

¹³ Ernst Cassirer, *Descartes: Lehre—Persönlichkeit—Wirkung*. 1939.

¹⁴ A religion "à ma mode", Christina's autobiography in Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. III. Swedish transl. Magnus von Platen ed. *Drottning Kristinas Självbiografi*. 1967.

¹⁵ Leopold von Ranke, *The History of the Popes*. 1906. Vol. II pp. 351–371, appendix no. 129, 130, 131.

Nutius continued the attempt and through him, Malines' document on the Queen's conversion was put in a Latin version for spread in Flanders and Brabant. (Documents on the Belgian activities were published in 1856, but then only in 50 very rare copies). Thus, France, Spain, and the Jesuit order came to have a rival interest in gaining the Swedish Queen for Catholicism and great risks were taken in political diplomacy in order to influence her religious understanding.

But what seems to have been forgotten is that parallel to this development, Christina was also involved in other projects. Christina's interest in Jesuit argumentation for Catholicism was not for all its secrecy a sudden switch of attitude but, as I make clear below, was rather part of a gradual turning away from the Protestant unionism that until then formed her policies. Still, her contacts with the Jesuits can be construed as a dramatic break because her change of allegiance coincided with several fits of sickness that brought her to the verge of psychological breakdown. In the period 1651–1654, she was, more or less continuously, ill. Christina's libertine period after her treatment by the French doctor Pierre Michon Bourdelot in 1652 has therefore been seen by many as a mere reaction to the personal strain that came before. But there were philosophical and political issues involved that cannot be reduced to psychological moods or conflicts. A major deficiency in previous work on Christina is that the exact views that characterized her libertine period have been spelled out inadequately. Instead, most historians have accepted von Ranke's dramatized vision of the Queen's involvement with Jesuit theologians. Yet, we know that in 1652, the Queen wrote to her Calvinist cousin Fredrick of Hessen (who contemplated converting) some lines that show the difficulty of imputing to the Queen an acceptance of rational Catholic dogmatics:

Je laisse à ceux, qui font profession de traiter les controverses, a s'egorger la-dessus selon leur plaisir; il seroit malféant a moi de vous pecher de choses si eloignées de ma profession. C'est pourquoi je mettrai les disputes que vos Docteurs ont avec ceux de l'Eglise Romain. Et puisque je suis d'une troisième Religion, qui, ayant trouvé la Verité, s'est eloignée de leurs opinion, qu'elle a rejettées comme fausses . . .¹⁶

¹⁶ Christina to Fredrick of Hessen 1652, in Arckenholz (1751) Vol. I. pp. 217–219. La Motte's letter (the major part consists of sharp criticisms of Christina's behaviour) is printed in truncated form in Arckenholz (1751) Vol. I pp. 544. 546. Christina's unpublished comments on the copy in the Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hannover. A photocopy is found in Nordström's papers, Uppsala UB.

The Queen here seems to speak of her Lutheran religion which we know she actually detested, but by referring to "a third religion" she could in fact have been alluding to a new standpoint altogether, beyond the official creeds. A contemporary French commentator, La Motte, decided that her impious actions as a convert could be explained:

Mais comme Elle s'est mise dans une neutralité par son abdication qui la rend plus capable de travailler à la paix, peut être a-t-Elle voulu se mettre dans une indifférence pour les deux religion, afin de les reunir plus aisement.

Some time later (how much later is of importance) Christina got hold of this letter and wrote at the bottom that only fools can doubt that she is not a good Catholic and that "le temps parlera pour elle." However, the context of libertine thought, in fact shows that La Motte is on to something essential concerning Christina's early interpretation of Catholicism.

Christina's involvements with the Jesuits and with the Spanish diplomatic legation also has political overtones. Her 1654 "act of political madness—the alienation of Spain's enemy, the Portuguese legation, in favour of the Habsburgs—takes place only ten days before she abdicates.¹⁷ A sudden switch in politics, without consultation with the council, was part of her plan to rely on Spain whose ambassador Don Antonio Pimentel del Prado arranged her stay in Belgium, the Spanish Netherlands, and then travelled with her to Rome. The study of the diplomatic dispatches from Pimentel to Philip IV shows that Christina favours Spain in support of the Prince of Condé's subversive claims to the French throne.¹⁸ In 1655, at Brussels and Antwerp she offers her services for working secretly for a general peace in Europe through her contacts with both France and Spain.¹⁹ Aware of her inability to mediate, and as Condé is losing his ground, she then (but only then) settles for accepting Pope Alexander VII's offer for her to stay permanently in Rome. Curt Weibull has shown how, not much later, in 1656 in Rome, she alienated Pimentel and his Spanish contacts, and instead turned to a secret alliance with France in an effort to win the

¹⁷ The English Ambassador Bulstrode Whitelocke's judgment quoted in K. Mellander and E. Prestage, *The Diplomatic and Commercial Relations of Sweden and Portugal from 1641 to 1670*. 1930. p. 96.

¹⁸ Nils Berencreutz (ed.), *Antonio Pimentels depescher*. 1961. Pimentel's report 19 October 1652, p. 25 ff.

¹⁹ For many interesting observations on Christina's involvement with Condé, Spain, and France and later also Rome see the political intelligence given throughout *Thurloe State Papers*. 6 vols. London 1648–1667.

throne of Naples—a Spanish domain.²⁰ Christina later that year travelled to Paris in the secret hope of making a future alliance with Mazarin on the Naples issue. Her departure was preceded by a lot of ill will from Pope Alexander VII towards her person and her behaviour. Her glorious reception throughout France on her journey to Paris was, as Weibull shows, a propaganda attempt to show Gallic superiority over Rome and to prepare the world for Christina as a future ruler of Naples.²¹

When “Kristina Wasa” after the abdication transforms into “Christine Alexandre” something significant has happened: her wish to rule as Alexander the Great—unexpectedly rising to power over new domains—remarkably well suits the goals and motivational force behind the Naples plan. There is some brief but very intriguing evidence showing that Naples figures in Christina’s plans even in Stockholm. This neglected evidence helps to demonstrate the need to consider the symbolic dimensions of her subsequent choice to set herself up as a new Catholic monarch in southern Italy. Christina’s moves of secret diplomacy have been given various interpretations by diplomatic historians, but there still is a need to integrate these perspectives to a coherent overall view of her role. If Christina’s political role as unbound royalty had such dimensions as Weibull ascribes to it, then the psychological characterizations given by scholarship have failed to do justice, not only to her personality, but also to how she was regarded by contemporaries. The incoherent modern perspective on the Queen, as a person who by plots and lies tries to rid herself of state responsibilities, is here supplanted, not by the Catholic image of a triumphing convert, but by bringing into focus the intellectual background of the broader religious vision in which Christina believed she could play a role.

The 1656 Naples project remains the Gordian knot for anyone who tries to understand Christina’s plans at the abdication, and I hope to bring out the ideological dimensions surrounding its formation. Even if the attempt to seize on the Kingdom of Naples highlights the most crucial element in Christina’s self-image, it is also of consequence that she later attempted to regain political power in Swedish Pommerania in 1658, in Sweden in 1660, in Bremen in 1667, and in Poland 1668.²² As a former sovereign, she

²⁰ Nils Berencreutz (ed.), (1961). 8 June, 15 August, 1655, p. 99, 101.

²¹ Curt Weibull, (1936).

²² On Christina’s less well known plans for settling in Pommerania, see Bertil Sundberg (1967) pp. 168–169 and p. 177.

made claims at the peace conference at Nijmegen in 1676; she continued to claim the revenue of Naples well into her last years, and in 1687, she was planning to settle in the Prussian domains of Fredrick Wilhelm of Brandenburg.²³ In Rome, she worked for the liberal “squadrone volante” group at Papal elections at the Vatican and was prepared to charter her friend Cardinal Azzolino as the future Pope.²⁴ It seems clear that Christina’s political ambitions overcame her religious inclinations, and in a way that has been largely unaccounted for. I argue that her interest in Catholicism rested, paradoxically, on a political theory of universal concord and religious tolerance most typical in her time of certain Protestant millenarian reformists, but that in her case translated into a universal pan-Europeanism set out in the writings of a handful of Gallic prophets.

²³ Invitation to the Congress of Nijmegen 17 April 1677, from the French Ambassador Del Monte. No. 65 in *Christina di Svezia mostra di Documenti Vaticani*. 1966.

²⁴ The Astrologer Giuseppe Mazzoni is to have made this prediction, yet most people regarded Azzolino as “non papabile”.

CHAPTER TWO

DOUBTS AND IRRELIGIOUS SCEPTICISM

A Problematic Catholicism

Perhaps the most central element of Catholicism is the belief that to be Catholic is to partake in a spiritual tradition reaching back to the Apostles, and ultimately to be sanctified through the divine ordinance mediated by the worldly leader of the Catholic Church—the Pope. The Catholic community is based on a doctrine regarded as ancient, uniform, stable, and necessary for transmitting the spiritual light received by the Apostles down through the ages. Individual Catholics must not only agree with the fundamentals of Christian doctrine, but must also allow someone else to mediate their relationship with God as revealed by this doctrine. The spiritual economy of mediation presupposes that all spiritual and temporal authority emanates from the Pope, who empowers and justifies the mediation of sanctification from the spiritual to the temporal realm down through the hierarchy of bishops, priests, and deacons. Individuals derive sanctification, power, and meaning by participation in the relations of spiritual exchange that constitute the hierarchy of the Catholic institution. The clergy derives spiritual authority from its location in the structure, while the laity by submitting to this authority derives guidance, grace, and ultimately salvation.

The Pope at the highest level of the hierarchy concretely represents its entire idea. The Pope is patron to all. In spite of his celibacy, he is the source of spiritual fecundity and initiates the line of “fathers” specially initiated to mediate the Divine mystery. Authority, allegiance, and control are the main springs of the system that channels the Divine word to those who submit to the faith. To some believers, this tradition came to be regarded as “an oppressive bureaucracy of the spirit” that demands unneeded submission by those who would be saved. Radical Protestants negated all Church hierarchy by proclaiming that each person can be the embodiment of faith. Protestant princes claimed the temporal realm for themselves. Protestant rhetoric returned over and over again to the questions: Who is the Pope? What is the Bible?¹

¹ The hierarchical element in Catholicism is closely tied to the doctrine of the

When one reads some of Christina's late maxims, one sees that what appeals to her in the political realm also appeals to her in religion.² She seems to have been drawn to Rome because it represents a power structure of greater depth than Protestantism. The Pope acts in this religious sphere as would an absolute sovereign. To the faithful, the Papal miracle transcends Royal grace. While the divine right of Kings was increasingly challenged, the omnipotence of the Pope remained intact in the Catholic world. The idea of a cosmic spiritual imperium led to the Catholic desire for world political unity, for the realization of the Absolute state where a single form of government reinforces the tendency towards unity. In this Catholic myth, Rome imitates the exploits of Alexander the Great, and the world becomes one. Christina's own self-image was that even as an abdicated Queen she had the Divine right to exercise power. This is a rationale for her conversion. She believed that Catholic community, tradition, and finesse, would lead more quickly to the goal of unity than Protestant individualism, with its leveling tendencies and political crudeness. In a letter to her unconventional libertine friend Bourdelot, Christina did say: "Pour moi j'entre aveuglement dans les sentiments de l'Eglise Romaine, et je crois sans reserve tout ce que son Chef commande."³

But the evidence of Christina's sceptical opinions makes it hard and even impossible to believe that the conversion was an open-hearted embrace of the fixed authoritative structure of Catholicism. As we know any particularity not included in these symbolic relations was considered as a crack in a perfect whole; Christina's individuality was simply not prone to melt into the submissive role favoured by Catholics. Her reported scepticism, her suspected bisexuality, and her unorthodox support of all sorts of clandestine opinions does not strike (as in her autobiography she would have us believe) only against confessional Lutheranism. Also, her late writings conflict with Catholicism. Stolpe comments on reading her classical heroic maxims, several of which do not square well with her Catholic affirmations:

We can in her correspondence over the years take note of how persistently she holds on to her cult of honour and virtue, and we have a right

Trinity, which in turn derives from hypostatizing the Neo-Platonic ontology. The multiplication of the forms of Divine Substance was challenged in the Patristic period by Arius and was rekindled by the Socinian Unitarians—and in mitigated form by all Protestant reformers.

² See esp. Maxim no. 11, 12, 13, 14. in Sven Stolpe (ed.), *Les Sentiments heroiques*. 1959.

³ Christina to Pierre Bourdelot 1674.

to be surprised that these categories are not superceded by central concepts of grace and the absolute helplessness of man. The cause seems to be that Christina never fully could accept the incarnation or the function of salvation . . . She did not need the Purgatorio. She did not need reconciliation. She was "innocent". She was at any rate responsible only to God himself because she was God's worldly representative.⁴

Christina never attempted to reconcile her interest in classical individualistic virtue with Catholicism—she held her political ambitions prior to meeting religious demands. It is interesting to note that Stolpe does remark that Christina never mentions Christ or St. Mary in her writings. Even in her late period her religion is directed solely to the Divine. The one event that has a bearing on the possible content of her Christology is her relation to the sculptor Bernini in 1679. Bernini offered her what was to become his last work—a "Salvator Mundi"—a bust of the suffering Christ. Christina did not accept the gift. As she could not "give a comparable gift of exchange, she chose to reject it rather than fail in the slightest degree to equal the Royal magnificence of her intention."⁵ Irving Lavin, who recently discovered Bernini's bust previously thought to be lost, describes how it portrays Christ as both human and Divine. He draws attention to "the strained and rather withdrawn pose, head turned sideways and slightly upward . . . with his hand slightly raised as if in blessing."⁶ The tendency to austerity and abstraction suggests a Quietist interpretation, and is markedly different from Bernini's earlier emotional drawing, "Sangue di Christo" where Christ, fixed to the Cross, mystically pours forth his blood to the pious in adoration. Bernini's gift—the "Salvator Mundi"—somehow compromised Christina's status, touching a strain in her that forced a peculiar, and high-minded, rejection of Bernini's wish. This in effect left him with the project of constructing an ornate frame for her personal mirror. Finally, two years later, Bernini gave Christina the bust with his testament and asked her to "do an act of God for him"—perhaps a request appropriate to a Queen known for her unorthodox attitude. At any rate, Christina paid for Filippo Baldinucci's publication of Bernini's biography in which the above explanation of her rejection occurs.⁷

⁴ Comp. n. 33 chap. IIb, below, Sven Stolpe ed. (1959), p. 8.

⁵ Irving Lavin, "Bernini's Death" *Art Bulletin* 1972, pp. 159–186. Bernini's mirror reprinted in J. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Les Desseins italiens de la reine Christine de Suède*. 1966.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 8–9. Bernini also made a bust of Cardinal Azzolino.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 9.

To overcome the impression of conflict with Catholicism in Christina's views, Stolpe divides her life into three stages, each of which requires attention. He sees a gradual development from a personal stoicism towards mysticism. In reading the confession-like autobiography, the Maxims, and other late writings, one has to be aware that these stages overlap, and that old Stoic formulations live on. Stolpe then schematizes Christina's development from the viewpoint of her late Catholic conviction:

1. A classical heroic doctrine of virtue with strong Stoic features, combined with an honest belief in God, but also with a remarkable shying away from the central Christian dogma on incarnation and grace.
2. A "modernistic" Catholicism, fully loyal to the Church as institution and particularly towards the Pope as God's representative on earth; which however comprises a large amount of scepticism towards the reactionary position of the Church concerning modern natural science, towards the miracles, and towards the purgatory.
3. A Quietist mysticism that radically discounts her earlier humanism and that points to God's grace as the only means to salvation.

At certain times, Stolpe claims, the thoughts and motives from each stage existed side by side, before full clarity was reached and her will was decided for Catholicism. "But we can with surety decide the initial point and the ending point for this evolution, that thus went from classical humanism towards personal mysticism."⁸

I do not believe that the initial stage is clearly delimited by Stolpe's schema. He leaves out and defines as transitory Christina's deep scepticism and he does not find the efficient cause for the conversion. From the endpoint of Christina's life, Stolpe tries to show how her actions were part of a teleological development towards deep Christian mysticism. I argue that this distorts the facts. It distorts the facts in the same way as Christina's own autobiography distorts and reinterprets her life to fit the ideal of a Christian quest and progression. If one takes as one's reference point, not the last few years of her life, but the early period when she was an independent and searching individual, one's picture of her alters. Christina now becomes, not the saintly figure of her confessions, but rather an autarcic individual much concerned with earthly power, with free thought, with tolerance, and with an

⁸ See the study of Molinos in Sven Stolpe (1959). pp. 223-274.

interest in marginal and daring causes of all sorts. Christina's life is not best illuminated by showing her final resignation into Quietism, but rather by attending to her role as an unorthodox individual in an orthodox world.

On Reading Queen Christina—the “e-Silentio Proofs”

As did her anomalous acts, Christina's letters generate debate. Voltaire, who as an expounder of enlightened rule comments at length on the absolute reign of Louis XIV, spends a few paragraphs on the Swedish Queen to state that her reputation has been damaged through common illwill—a sad fate for a regent whose only fault was to have tried to be a philosopher.⁹ To show his sympathy he concludes: “Pour connaitre le genie unique de cette reine, on n'a qu'a lire ses lettres.”¹⁰ Yet, for a Queen with a reputation of being a philosopher, her letters rarely show such aptitude and a great many of them show her fixed in modes of narcissistic self-importance that even in the age of Absolutism have a misplaced quality.¹¹ The royalist philosopher Leibniz, who was edified by the grasp of complicated doctrines shown in the letters of Queen Sophie of Prussia, grieved that so little had been done to preserve them, and added that the opposite could be said about those of the Queen of Sweden.¹²

In fact, most of Christina's letters are elaborate trifles, whose main interest lies in their display of cynical temper, perhaps unexpected in a woman. At the same time, we know that Christina's argumentational aptitudes and authority in memory and judgement were noted by almost every major scholar she met. The young Pierre-Daniel Huet, for example, claimed in 1651 that she was the sharpest of women, even compared to Anna Maria van Schurmann and Madelaine de Scudéry—the two most accomplished female writers of the time.¹³ She did have an advanced

⁹ Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII. Oeuvres Complets de Voltaire* T. 4. Firmin Didot, Paris 1855. p. 445.

¹⁰ *Ibid. Siècle de Louis XIV* pp. 91–92.

¹¹ There has been a debate on whether Christina's use of hyperbole reflects a psychological aberrance or if it is rather a consequence of the then current literary style, whether monarchical or just generally aristocratic.

¹² This was as a response to Jean Tesmar's *Tribunal Principis Perigrinantis*, where Christina's order of execution was deemed not to fall within the normal jurisdiction of a travelling monarch, but that it rather was unique. Leibniz argued that the sovereign's jurisdiction over ministers was not limited by place. The debate is reprinted in Chaussard, *Les Antenors modernes ou voyages de Christine* Vol. I, Paris 1806. p. 488 ff. 498–499.

¹³ Pierre Daniel Huet to Pierre Gassendi 1652, Arckenholtz (1751), Appendix Vol. I.

ability in political discussions and most diplomats found her countenance impressive. Still, it should be said that her philosophical letters to Descartes were written by Chanut and her letters to Gassendi are just short notes. Some readers of “les mystères de son autographe”—her swift and uncontrolled, scribbling, hand—have even gone so far as to see her as a neurotic character who, while perhaps gifted, never could adequately arrest her train of thought, and they conclude that “Christina Minerva” never was anything more than a myth. Sven Stolpe argues that Christina’s letters are apparently vacuous because most of them were instruments for matters of state, written by her many secretaries. Habituated to dictation, she used irony and self-elevation as tools to command people to follow her orders. Only in her maxims did she work out her thoughts—and then in a form with special requirements for compact expression. These maxims, called *Les Sentiments heroïques*, amount to several thousand different variants, but are mainly concerned with recording her courtly perceptions and princely attitudes. She even may have disqualified herself as a philosophical oracle. After a stroll in a park in Hamburg she met a lady who asked for advice on an interesting book. Christina writes that she almost died of laughter when the woman had showed her that the book was entitled “Compendium Aristoteles”.¹⁴

The varied interpretations of Christina’s letters generate a problem because the edifying Christina-image of the French envoy Chanut is flatly contradicted by two other ambassadors at the court, who emphasize the Queen’s libertinism and lack of royal civility. Some of this evidence has been explained as mere “Bourdelot hysteria”, i.e. as deriving from hostile reactions towards the period dominated by the Queen’s libertine medical doctor.¹⁵ But now another problem arises: given Christina’s association with religious libertines and her many pronouncements of conversational and interesting sceptical opinions, it is striking that the majority of her late letters affirm Catholicism. Her warm signature “Dieu vous prospère” has no ring of insincerity. Sven Stolpe argues that these letters prove his main point, that behind the hardened image given to her by a malevolent tradition, there was all along a pious nucleus that would spring forth in Christina’s submission to Molinos’ Quietism. Her early blasphemy was habit, her expressed doubts were weak, her resignation to the faith inevitable.¹⁶

¹⁴ Sven Stolpe, “Kristina studier”, *Credo* 1959. Carl Bildt (1899).

¹⁵ Sven Ingmar Olofsson, *Efter Westfaliska Freden* 1955. “The Juel and Piques problem”. p. 47.

¹⁶ Sven Stolpe (1959).

By contrast, in his study of libertines in the seventeenth century, René Pintard places Christina's conversion on a common route to a religion that had become a haven for a new and special brand of dissenters.¹⁷ The Catholic belief in "ex opera operatum"; that the road to salvation is expressed in the external symbols of the Church and that through its acts of mediation we partake of the Divine, provided a place for people who did not pay more than lip service to belief. Outwardly conformist they often held new syncretist views on the Deity, by which classical wisdom and political independence were possible to pursue more systematically than in the spheres controlled by the Lutheran demand on submission by conscience.¹⁸ In spite of the Spanish Inquisition and the Italian *Propaganda Fede* with their Index and spies to find and root out heresy, a large number of indifferentists who were willing to sustain the tradition externally, could live in the realm of Rome's influence. Those who, because of their social rank, had no stake in changing the order or symbols of the church, could thus live comfortably as Catholics while expressing their doubts at times in private. In the Protestant world the emphasis was on the individual's belief and church practice became a live center for torment and guilt, a place for repentance and doom, and for steady reflection on Adam's sin imparted to us, the wretched. But with the progressive decline among the learned of belief in the torments of Hell, its fearful images lost their power to persuade the doubtful. Thus, from the orthodox perspective, mortalism was all the more considered to be a dangerous heresy and it was thought to lead to antisocial disrespect for the commands of Christian morality and civic virtue.¹⁹ The Catholic tradition had a vastly greater appeal to mainstream rationalists, who after all could live in peace as long as they never explicitly publicized their ideas.

In a detailed criticism of Pintard and Stolpe, Curt Weibull argues that the major share of the evidence showing that Christina actually held libertine views is constructed as "e-silentio proofs". Quotations are taken out of context, and beliefs are imputed to the Queen on the ground of her association with persons who were dissenters, but whose impact on her religious views were negligible.²⁰ Weibull's overall caution is impressive, but on a closer

¹⁷ René Pintard, *Le Libertinage Erudit* 1942.

¹⁸ Giorgio Spini, *Ricerche dei Libertini* 1983. (1950). Esp. the chapter "Ignoto Dei".

¹⁹ D. P. Walker, *The Decline of Hell* 1964.

²⁰ Curt Weibull, "Drottning Kristinas tronsavslagelse och tronsskifte", *Scandia* 28 1962. pp. 196–326.

reading of individual points, I find that his detailed commentary often emerges as pre-decided for brisk dismissals. While Pintard's description of the Stockholm court may be frivolous, and "un livre à these", it is clear that his evidence is there. Pintard's massive text contains a keen representation of the forms of libertine culture, and if one takes his subculture-context as normative, one can apply his insights also to the reading of Christina's letters. Leo Strauss has argued that under conditions of persecution, the art of writing new ideas at risk with traditional doctrine evolves into sophisticated codes, that play on meaning and structure to stretch the limits of the unsayable and unprintable. "Persecution cannot prevent even public expression of the heterodox truth for . . . the influence of persecution on literature is precisely that it compels all writers who hold heterodox views to develop a peculiar technique of writing between the lines."²¹

These elusive codes have often escaped objective scholarship. In many cases historians are unable to confirm the rumours of heterodox opinions, since in the writers' explicit statements no such opinions are clearly expressed. "If an author explicitly says that a is b, but implicitly means that a is not b, then the historian must say that a is b."²² Yet, with a fine-tuned perception, one can often reconstruct the texts to find their hidden implicit doctrine. I think Strauss' discussion justifies my approach to the body of Christina's writings, readings, and reported statements, particularly in those instances when she more or less consciously applies self-censorship. Strauss exemplifies his thesis with the case of Moses Maimonides, who in his works never mentions the immortality or resurrection of the soul—an omission for which the tradition can give no clear reason except that the author probably held no doctrinally acceptable view of the matter.²³ Accordingly, Stolpe's astonishment over the apparent lack of Christology in Christina's *Maxims* and other writings may indicate a conscious avoidance.²⁴ Another flagrant point is the notable non-Christian, almost Pagan, pride in her open letter to Chanut (printed in 1655 in French, Dutch, German, and Italian).²⁵

To get away with such central omissions, Strauss suggests that the plan of the heterodox work must be obscured; a boring and longwinded attack on forbidden liberal views may be given, while

²¹ Leo Strauss, *Persecution and the Art of Writing* 1952. p. 24.

²² *Ibid.* p. 27.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 38 ff.

²⁴ See note 4, Chapter I.

²⁵ See note 12 Chapter I.

the conclusion is a lively and terse statement of those same views so to give a “glimpse of the hidden truth”. By partaking of libertine thinking Christina grew accustomed to reading books by authors who used such methods of exposition. Another reminder by Strauss is helpful for discerning Christina’s beliefs: the real opinion of a heterodox writer may not necessarily be the one expressed in the largest number of passages.²⁶ Such a writer could write an edifying doctrine with broad appeal and then add a philosophic doctrine on a specific important subject—*en passant* as it were. Or one could use as one’s mouthpiece a universally disreputable character whom no one would take seriously. Quotations from antique figures or spokesmen from foreign cultures and religions fall into this category. Pseudonyms, unusual expressions, Greek labels, and obvious contradictions can also be used to obscure the plan in order to let only the careful reader understand the message.²⁷

A Straussian reading of historical records thus takes into account that with the increase of institutionalized persecution, writers become aware that their opponents consist of clever readers who would detect messages even of coded form. Writers must now hide contradictions of orthodox views more elaborately. One such method is to use statements far apart from one another, based on the idea that “secrecy is to a certain extent identical with rarity.”²⁸ One may seemingly repeat an earlier non-controversially examined statement, but now add or delete parts of the formulation to bring out a heterodox point. A frequently used method of secret heterodoxy is to incidentally deny something implied by the main tenents of a doctrine. An example is Maimonides’ statement that the Hebrew secrets (compare the Catholic Mysteries) are impossible to explain by nature *and* forbidden by law.²⁹ A rationalist sceptic who claims that Reason cannot explain the Eucharist while adding that the Church is the infallible authority on this matter, makes the same move. On the surface it appears as fideist acceptance, but with knowledge of the author’s other views one can see that what is meant is doubt and denial. The question of intention can sometimes be extremely difficult to assess, as for example, in the case of Descartes, whose censors did not accept his repeated claims that his ideas were not in conflict with the Church, or that if they were, they were only heuristic hypotheses or fables.

²⁶ Leo Strauss (1952). p. 25.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 36.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 72.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 71 and also p. 43, 59, 83.

There undoubtedly were observers who collected anomalous statements of the Queen to set on record her libertine and sceptical views. I have discussed how Weibull and Stolpe argue that this tradition represents a class of propagandists that a serious historian must disregard. Weibull is even prepared to argue that the French views can be traced to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, who, after his dismissal, used his French contacts to spread rumours about the Queen.³⁰ However, the formation of libertine culture after the Fronde had a special and subversive significance, and the use of Queen Christina's role in it was directed far more by political considerations than by personal malice. The subculture of interpretation consisted of writers who were aware of the religious strictures they all had to operate under and who accordingly read the texts with care to find evidence for support of their heterodox views. The scattered evidence of "another Christina" is, following Strauss, not a malevolent construction, but the effort of heterodoxy to claim for itself an abdicated Queen as a focal point for its, and her, new and often irreverent worldview.

I believe that Christina's Catholic acts and statements have a self-interested political role. For example, her fight with the Swedish clergy in 1660 and 1667 on the role of her Jesuit confessor, in which she claims a natural right for a Sovereign to freedom of confession, was in no small part an act of self-assertion.³¹ Her command to Bremont, her book merchant in Amsterdam in the 1680s, always to display publically an altar in his lodge, was caused by her need to without attracting suspicion get news from the free world of learning.³²

It is clear that the Catholic world had much to offer those with a fervour for classical learning, and I believe that Christina's occasional day-visits to monasteries attest to this fact rather than to a deeply Catholic concern. The Jesuit school of research into foreign cultures and antiquities prevailed through treading a line between collecting and documenting, while the heterodox arguments to be derived from this material were left open, wittingly or not, for others to fill in. Christina was absolutely clear about these conditions and had no illusions about her position. When she received the manuscript of Matthias Wasmuth's new work on Astro-

³⁰ See note 28, Chapter II, p. 76.

³¹ Sven Göransson, "Prästerskapet i kamp mot Drottning Kristinas Naturrärttsliga Religionsfrihetsuppfattning", *Kyrkohistorisk Tidskrift* 1949. Uppsala 1950. G. Wittrock, *Carl Gustavs Testamente—den Inrikespolitiska krisen 1660* 1913.

³² Christina's expenses for Bremont's chapel, 13 Mars 1688. She complains that his wife is "une Religeuse", Montpellier-collection Tome XI. f. 35.

Chronology in 1687 she realized that it was “un ouvrage entièrement hérétique”. She therefore advised her accountant to stop her payments to the project “a ce qu'il aye corrigé toute ce qui peut choquer la religion catholique.” She continued: “Je ne me plains pas de la dépense faite, mais je ne veux pas de dépenser en des ouvrages hérétiques, et je suis plus delicate la dessus que vous ne pouvez vous imaginer.” A book that would carry her name must not contain a single word against the Catholic religion.³³ Her judgment was justified given the recent inquisition against Molinos' Quietism, and as I am attempting to make clear her sensitivity also had a personal history.

Many of her contemporaries conclude that Christina's case shows that, in the words of Cesare D'Onofrio, Rome was simply worth an abdication. In fact, there were other cases of conversions to Catholicism, known to Christina, that reflected little conviction, but rather practical concern. One such example is Duncan Cérisantes, a French poet and Frondeur who spent time at the Swedish court and who was sent in 1645 by Christina to serve the Swedish Ambassador at Paris, the philosopher of law Hugo Grotius.³⁴ Grotius detested the Queen's choice and felt spied upon. He had become famous as a heterodox Christian, partly through his claim that even if we suppose that God does not exist, Natural Law would retain its validity; but mainly through his tract *De Veritate Christianae Religionis* (1632) in which he showed Unitarian tendencies in insinuating universal salvation while apparently attacking Jews and Mohammedans. Christina knew of his Universalism and later asked a learned German doctor whether a Calvinist like Grotius could be regarded as Catholic.³⁵ After Grotius' death in 1645 (of pneumonia after receiving his pension at Stockholm), it was said that he once replied to a request for reasons for the immortality of the Soul with a short: There aren't any good ones.³⁶ Duncan Cérisantes had such leanings himself, and probably raised questions about Grotius' views on Christianity.

Cérisantes was a French Huguenot, who, before coming to Stockholm, had travelled through Poland and Turkey, and now

³³ G. Claretta, *Cristina di Svezia in Italia* 1892. Letter XLVIII, Christina to Johan Olivekrantz, Rome 15 March, 1687.

³⁴ Jean Levesque de Burigny, *Vie de Grotius* 1752. pp. 84–92.

³⁵ *Ibid.* On Christian unity p. 226, On suspected Unitarianism, p. 260 ff. Javier Hervada, “The Old and New in the hypothesis ‘Etiam si Daremus’ of Grotius”, *Grotiana* 1983. pp. 3– 20.

³⁶ *Chevreaiana* 1697–1700. Vol. I. p. 168. Comp. Levesque de Burigny (1752), p. 275.

went through Paris to Rome, where in 1647 he made a public conversion to Catholicism, an act for which he received a round sum of money. Cérisantes' case was much discussed. On 25 November 1647, the poet Balzac wrote to the writer Chapelain: "A vous vrais dire ces sortes de conversions me sont suspectes, et j'ay peur qu'il sera mauvais huguenot plutost que bon catholique. Ceux qui changent ci facilement, et avec si peu de connaissance de cause, apres avoir esté à Notre-Dame-de-Lorette foroient volontiers un pelerinage à La Mecque, si leur bien de leurs affars les y obligeoit et qu'on y payast mieux les convertis qu'en pays de Chretienté."³⁷ They agreed that if the Mohammedans did not require circumcision, Cérisantes would convert to Islam.

The favourite of the young Swedish Queen was not accepted in many circles, and in Stockholm, Ambassador Chanut all along had thought that Cérisantes was a man with "un désir immoderé de se signaler".³⁸ In the same year, the Queen was asked what she thought about Lars Skytte, a Swede who travelled to Portugal and became a Catholic Franciscan, and whom many have suspected may have facilitated the approach of Portuguese Jesuits to the Queen in 1651. Christina, perhaps with Cérisantes in mind, laughed and said that: "Converts are like Mulattos; white skin, woolly hair."³⁹

She knew that conversions could be a step out of oppressive situations and so when the Comtesse Henriette de la Suze divorced and converted, Christina commented that la Suze had become Catholic in order not to see her Huguenot husband either in this world or in the other. She also knew of conversions that had the express purpose of avoiding persecution, that is, those of the "Marranos" or new Christians, e.g., Iberian Jews who to avoid the horrors of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal had been forced to accept Catholicism. For generations, they outwardly practised Christianity, while secretly retaining their inward Jewish belief, and in time they developed a keen sense of doctrinal dissimulation. Christina supported the Marrano Isaac La Peyrere's work *Prae-Adamitae* (1655) on the existence of men before Adam and the relativity of "peccatum", the doctrine of the inherited weight from Adam's sin, an extremely heterodox opinion. In face of death and

³⁷ Roger Zuber, "Protestantisme Francais", *Bull. de la Soc. d'Histoire du XVII^e Siecle* CXXVI 1980. pp. 461-488.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Karl Mellander and Edgar Prestage, *The Diplomatic . . . Relations of Sweden and Portugal—from 1641 to 1670* 1930.

torture, La Peyrère in 1657 converted to Catholicism, about a year after Christina's triumphant entrance into Rome. He proudly claimed that thousands of Protestants would now follow his example, but no more did than after Christina's public conversion at Innsbruck in 1655. Only a few actual conversions ever took place.⁴⁰ Public conversions were above all else political acts.

As a young ruler, Christina acutely perceived the various nuances and threats behind political moves. As early as 1645, she reasoned that if her ambition for a peace settlement did not go well, people would say that the move was concocted by unsettled heads and continued because she, transported by her *libidine dominandi*, could not take healthy counsel. The masks and double play of diplomacy were for her a daily fare, and in Macchiavelli's sense she learned to exploit them. It is no accident that when Monica Setterwall recently wrote on Christina's Maxims, she chose as *topos* the entry: "Not being able to dissimulate, is not being able to live."⁴¹

In her own time, there was never any doubt that Christina's ethos was one of dissimulation. In Stockholm, the courtier Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie was not surprised when he spotted "Catholic symbola" under the Queen's bed.⁴² Weibull argues that the conflicting views of the diplomats at the Stockholm court show that Christina systematically lied about her political aims. It was better for the Queen to be regarded as an inscrutable atheist than as a traitor, and he thus takes seriously the Jesuits' claim that her apparent libertinism was a way to cover up the conversion.

An authentic account of one of her intellectual debates was recorded in November 1653, when the Venetian Ambassador to Russia, Alberto Vimina, stopped by in Stockholm and had an audience with the Queen. Vimina relates how the Queen with a remarkable force of mind had dismissed his questions on a proposed marriage with the German Emperor. Vimina relates that Christina had as little regard for the posterity as she had for the succession. She had made fun of the ordinary beliefs concerning the posthumous life and refused both the marital yoke and any belief in immortality. While the human soul "informs" the body, this "form" is not different from the soul of the animals and is equally corrupti-

⁴⁰ Richard H. Popkin, "The Marrano Theology of Isaac La Peyrère" 1973. pp. 97–126.

⁴¹ Compare Monica Setterwall, "Role-playing in maxim form—a comment on Queen Christina's maxims", *Scandinavian Studies* 2, 1985.

⁴² Quoted by Hugo Valentin, *Judarnas Historia i Sverige* 1924.

ble and mortal. She had claimed that the notion of the immortality of the Soul is only founded on faith, or begs of decency. Any argument that would separate the soul from the body speaks rather to our deceit than from knowledge. Vimina concluded that some people must have informed her royal genius with Godless doctrines and sophistical arguments. He was appalled that she even denied the Inferno and the Paradiso.⁴³

Weibull has, however, toned down this evidence and urges us to see the connection between the Queen's refusal to marry and the discussion on the posthumous life. He believes that her denial of Orthodox immortality was directed only against Lutheranism, while we know that even late in life Christina could regard herself Catholic without believing in the Purgatorio. Since she conceals from Vimina that she has arranged for her cousin Charles Gustavus to be her Crown heir one could, and should, cast doubt also on her philosophical opinion on the soul.

Weibull's proposal concords with the fact that Antonio Pimentel's Jesuit confessor Manderscheidt later could even argue in a work on Neo-Platonism that our state after death is an eternal sleep. Christina may have had similar ideas, but it should be clear that even Manderscheidt's proposal was forwarded in a very guarded form. The Catholic apologetic and French Ambassador Pierre Chanut tried to explain away Christina's heterodox views with the observation: "The Queen is very free to propound a great many paradoxes as if they were her own, to try the minds of others and to divert her own."⁴⁴

Instead of trying to explain away or play down Christina's heterodox statements, I take the view that one must apply a persecutorial reading to Christina's correspondence and biography in order not to reduce her unorthodoxy to psychological aberrations, deceit, or character defects. It is notorious that in Hamburg she enjoyed the company of such celebrated libertines as the fieldmarshall Paul Wurtz, who became widely known in 1674 for his testament in favour of his concubine. He had refused the last rites, claiming that if there is a Heaven he would surely be admitted to it since he had done nothing immoral. If there is none, the Eucharist would be useless anyway. He claimed that his credo was

⁴³ Alberto Vimina, "Historia della sollevazioni di Cosacco contro il regno die Polonia, dto. Stoccolma 2 nov. 1653" Ms. Ottob. Lat. 2485 ff. 246–273, f. 265r. Bibl. Apost. Vatic. Copy in Nordström box 8. Uppsala UB.

⁴⁴ Curt Weibull, "En Venetianare berättar" *Scandia* 2 (1935). P. Linages de Vaucienne, *Mémoires . . . Tirez de dépêches de M. Chanut* 1675.

to be Catholic with the Spaniards, Calvinist with the Dutch, Lutheran with the Swedes, and Epicurean with everyone who pleased.⁴⁵ Just as observers of the newly abdicated Queen found her to fit well into her libertine entourage, I now take the risk of overstating my case: I submit that the greatest acts of dissimulations were those of Catholic Apologetics. Particularly successful was the one in 1689, when the convert's remains were given a propagandistic "Pompa Funebris", proceeding through the Vatican to her sarcophagus in the St. Peter dome, in spite of Christina's express testament that she be buried without ceremonies at S. Maria sopra Minerva or at the Pantheon.⁴⁶

Christina and Irreligious Scepticism

On 26 June 1654, just some days after the abdication, an English spy reported on the Swedish Queen that: "Those who have had a very personal and near relation unto her count her a very atheist."⁴⁷ In the political intelligence of John Thurloe's spy-ring, among the French visitors at the Swedish court, and in the Danish Ambassador Peder Juel's diplomatic reports, the Queen was considered very indifferent in her religion.⁴⁸ Christina herself confesses that she had doubts very early in life, doubts that were growing more sophisticated by the contact with French libertinism. She was ready to raise doubts and objections to the proofs and evidence of standard Christian doctrines, and as a consequence on many occasions she acted contrary to what was considered certain and established.

One frequent response to the intellectual uncertainty generated

⁴⁵ *Wahrhafter Bericht Wurtzischer Process-Sachen Hamburg* 1674. *Das Leben Paul Wurtz* Hamburg 1681. See, "Tod und Begräbnis des Feldmarschall Paul Wurtz", *Z. des Vereins für Hamb. Geschichte* bd. 4 1858. p. 307–313. esp. p. 310. Wurtz was a friend of Immanuel Teixera, p. 307. He was a friend of Wendelin Sybelista, the physician of the Czar. Wurtz let some witches predict the future in a magical mirror. p. 313.

⁴⁶ Christina's testament is printed in Arckenholtz (1751) II, p. 315–319. Esp. p. 316. The remarkable procession is reproduced in Per Bjurström, *Feast and Theatre in Queen Christina's Rome* 1977.

⁴⁷ *Thurloe State Papers* 1648–1667. Vol. IV, June 26th 1654, p. 377.

⁴⁸ Peder Juel's letters to Charisius 1646–1654 in *Dansk Historisk Tidskrift* 1:5 1844 pp. 269– 408, "Utdrag ur Registret öfver Danska residenten i Stockholm Peder Juels bref till sin Regering 1647–1655." in Anders Fryxell ed. *Handlingar rörande Sveriges historia* I, 1836 pp. 86–105. For a French view, see Philippe Bourdon de la Salle' memoirs of his 1653 journey to Stockholm in Comte de Baillon's "La Reine Christine à Stockholm—Souvenir inédits de l'un de ses Gentilhomme de la Chambre" *Le Correspondant* vol. 76, 1878. pp. 239–478, pp. 654– 667. Additional French views in René Pintard (1943), pp. 388–403.

with denial of authority, is to adopt some kind of eclecticism, that is, to search for, borrow, and amalgamate confessional and religious elements that still retain their appeal. Historians of scepticism point out that a sceptical crisis in which a person is led to reject common assumptions offered to her, may often lead to a final insight that absolute certainty cannot be reached and that one must settle on as much certainty as possible; perhaps by adopting an entirely new set of fundamental propositions. Christina's sceptical crisis thus could have been a step towards a sincere conversion, followed by a dogmatic assertion of the new belief, even with an overconfidence in the newly adopted thought-system.⁴⁹ This line of development is adopted by Christina in her own evaluation of her disbeliefs and appears in the torrent of apologetic enunciations in her late confession-style autobiography *Réflexions sur ma vie*. Another document containing a similar account is her communications to the Jesuit fathers Malines and Casati starting in 1651, which later appeared in edited form as the official story of Christina's glorious conversion. After deep inquiry, they explain, she saw the light and accepted the Catholic Church as the only authority able to sustain its transmission. Malines concluded with certainty: "The Heavens rejoice when a sinner makes penitence."⁵⁰ Nonetheless, these accounts (particularly the versions not merely meant for internal use in the order) suppress the facts about Christina's early doubts about Lutheranism. Her questions to Descartes in 1647 on the possibility of a Christian creation in an infinite universe indicate that she was also deeply troubled by Catholic dogma.

The first doubts Christina recalls occurred when she was ten years old. After the third hearing of a sermon on the fires of the damned and the last judgment, she asked her tutor Johannes Matthiae whether this was not just a fictional story.⁵¹ She was harshly admonished not to ask such things. Christina confesses that she thought her advisors used religion to scare her in order to govern her to their ends. The Jesuit Casati writes that Christina's doubts about Lutheranism made her inquire into all religions and to weigh the difficulties of each. She thus endured about five years with great perturbation of mind, because she could find no place

⁴⁹ See Richard H. Popkin, *The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Spinoza* 1978, (1948). *Idem.*, "The Third Force in 17th Century Philosophy" (1983).

⁵⁰ Malines and Casati, reports printed in Leopold von Ranke (1906) pp. 351–371 app. 129, 130, 131. Malines statement in Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. IV, pp. 382–386.

⁵¹ Christina's autobiography repr. in Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. III, also Sven Stolpe ed. (1967), p. 74.

where she could stop.⁵² Christina's well known inner tension and hysterical frenzy thus coincided with her wish to read and think of clandestine opinions. "Estimating, as Casati reports, all things on merely human principles, she thought that many things may have been mere political inventions to the commoner order of minds."⁵³

This clear insight led her to examine the arguments of the sects against one another. The Jesuits say that in particular she was impressed by Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* from which she quoted that all religions may be false, but only one of them can be true. From the context of her discussions with Descartes, we know she was also familiar with the works of Sextus Empiricus, the classic statements of sceptical doubt.⁵⁴ She became convinced that it did not matter if one followed this or that religion, so long as one did not do anything contrary to reason. She thought she never had done so, saying that she had never done anything that could make her blush.⁵⁵ On the other hand she found ecclesiastical dogma repulsive to reason. She doubted the idea of Providence which she, like the ancient Stoics, preferred to call Fate. She asked questions about the eternal salvation of the soul, and admitted to the Jesuits that she had been, as Casati has it, "too profane in seeking to fathom the profoundest mysteries of the Godhead."⁵⁶

In 1651-52, at the same time that Christina was having secret discussions with Jesuits, she made such startling claims as that Moses among the Hebrews was like Mohammed among the Arabs. Casati reports that she even doubted that there was any difference between Good and Evil apart from the utility or injurious character of acts.⁵⁷ From other sources, we know that she claimed that she had no fear of God and she is rumoured to have enjoyed saying that the fable of Christ is of great use to the Roman Church.⁵⁸ She also is supposed to have said that the incarnation doctrine is wholly unworthy of credence.⁵⁹ To underscore her own doubts, Casati says, "she read every book treating on matters pertaining to this

⁵² Casati, in Leopold von Ranke (1906), app. 131.

⁵³ *Ibid.* app. 131.

⁵⁴ On Isaac Vossius' disclosure that Christina read Sextus Empiricus, see Chapter III, n. 9.

⁵⁵ Casati, in von Ranke (1906).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* On Providence and Fate, René Pintard (1943), p. 398.

⁵⁷ Casati, *op. cit.*

⁵⁸ Memoirs of Philippe Bourdon de la Salle *op. cit.* pp. 465-466.

⁵⁹ (Anon.), *Le Genie de la reine Christine de Suède* 1655, states that she doubts the incarnation of the Divine word and that she used the dictum of Leo X (the Atheist Pope) that "la Favola Christo e molto utile alla chiesa Romana e a tutti li monachi." See also Sven Stolpe (1982), p. 207.

White's interpretation is therefore untenable, for Aristotle does not equate causal determinism with necessity. Moreover, if our analysis has been correct, then Ackrill is certainly to the point in emphasizing that the fatalist's reasoning depends wholly on logical considerations, not causal. The relevant necessity here is that characterizing the semantic relationship between propositions and corresponding reality. Since the state of affairs *must* correspond to the true future singular proposition, the possibility of the event's equally happening or not happening is illusory. Frede explains,

The relative necessity which results from the truth of statements (*Sachverhalte*) is the same for all stages of time: if a statement *p* is true, then the things described by that statement must *de facto*—but not out of necessity—exist (*feststehen*). With things in the present and past this necessity occasions no further problem because the things do in fact exist; by contrast, with things in the future the contingency is nullified through the anticipation (*Vorwegnahme*) of the existence (even when merely conceived) of one of the two possibilities. But if a future thing described by a statement is not contingent, it is thus necessary, that is, the difference between relative and absolute necessity is erased.⁸⁸

The argument, then, proceeds from the antecedent truth of a future singular proposition to the necessity of the occurrence of the events described by that proposition. Now this argument, as Ackrill and Frede note, applies to all future events, whether they happen for the most part or by chance. Aristotle realizes this himself and cannot therefore be arguing in II.A.2 that if everything happens of necessity then *merely* chance events are eliminated. Rather he is probably focusing on them because they are the most striking instances of contingent events.⁸⁹ Events that happen for the most part are associated with events that happen always (for example, *Physics* 2.5.196b10-17), so that the fatalistic argument appears bolder if it removes the most noticeably contingent events in the world. Finally, Strang seems to be correct that *όπότερ* *εἴτε* does have some latitude of meaning, for although Aristotle uses it in its strict sense at 18b5; 19a19, 20, he also seems to use it as a catch-all phrase for contingency at 19a34 (cf. 18b15-16).

3. And the past truth of one disjunct entails fatalism

The word “again” (*εἴτι*) marks the transition to the second fatalistic difficulty. The only significant difference between this argument and the foregoing is that the future event is now said to be present and the future singular proposition is pushed back into the past. Thus Aristotle returns to his example of the white thing and asserts that if something is white

now, then it has always been true to say of it “It will be white” (*ἴσται λευκόν*). But if this proposition was always true, then what it states cannot fail to eventuate (*οὐχ οἶον τε ... μὴ ἔσεσθαι*). Therefore, it is impossible that it will not happen (*ἀδύνατον μὴ γενέσθαι*). Therefore, it is necessary that it will happen (*ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι*). Is this the same argument as before, or does the pastness in some way alter the reasoning?

Malcolm Lowe reports that it is recognized today that Aristotle considers two distinct arguments for fatalism: the first based on the claim that if two people make contradictory statements about a future singular, one of them must be speaking the truth, and the second based on the claim that if it was always true to say that what eventually happens would happen, then one could not have said so truly without its happening.⁹⁰ Lowe is, however, entirely dependent upon Hintikka for this interpretation of the second argument, an interpretation which we have found to be without sufficient basis. Apart from that, Lowe seems to misunderstand the structure of Aristotle’s argument, for the illustration concerning the two persons and the antiphasis is the key to II.A.1, the derivation of Excluded Middle; II.A.2, the first argument for fatalism, begins at 18b5 and is based on the semantic relation between a true proposition and reality. Aristotle does mention the illustration parenthetically in the first argument, but in the elaboration of the second argument in 18b33-5 the same illustration also appears. Aristotle adds that the people’s utterances are not needed to make the argument work—but this applies to their role not only in the second argument but in the first argument as well. In both arguments, then, the problem seems to hinge on the question of antecedent truth.

A popularly held interpretation of this chapter, defended by Steven Cahn, maintains that Aristotle presents two distinct arguments for fatalism, the first based on the truth of a future-tense proposition and the second based on the necessity of a past-tense proposition.⁹¹ By shifting the future-tense proposition into the past, it is said, Aristotle has fundamentally altered the argument. For now the reason that the event cannot fail to come to pass is that the proposition’s truth is a fact of past reality, and, as we have seen, the past cannot be changed. So the necessity of the event stems not merely from the truth of the propositions, but from the unalterability of the past truth of the proposition. One must, however, wonder if this interpretation is not reading back into Aristotle a similar argument, oft discussed by medieval theologians, concerning the pastness of God’s foreknowledge of an event.⁹² In that argument, there was a reality in the past that could not be changed, namely, God’s act of knowledge. But in Aristotle’s argument it is not clear that there is anything to which the unalterability of the past may attach itself. Aristotle

his denial that Genesis describes anything other than the history of the Jewish people. In an attempt to defend his heterodox exegesis, he explains the mistake of the entire Christian tradition as resting on the fact that the Scriptures are “a heap of copy confusedly taken.”⁶⁷ This type of outspokenly heretical Bible criticism was not acceptable to the Church; after its anonymous publication, La Peyrère’s book was burned both in Brussels and Namur, and also in France. But the manuscript had been known in libertine circles since 1643, and Hugo Grotius had even written a satirical refutation of its contents. After the public condemnation in 1655 many other refutations were written by theologians. Hence, the Bible criticism advanced by La Peyrère tended to spread. Spinoza included several variants of them in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. Recently, Richard Popkin and Yosef Kaplan has argued that Spinoza’s deist friend Juan de Prado may have used La Peyrère’s argument when he spoke against the divine origin of Scripture at Amsterdam in 1655, the year of his and Spinoza’s famous expulsion from the Synagogue. In 1656, La Peyrère himself was imprisoned; he had spent a year hiding in a Belgian castle protected by the Prince of Condé. La Peyrère chose to convert at the feet of Alexander VII in Rome, and officially blamed his doctrines on a Calvinist upbringing.⁶⁸ At that time Christina had left for Paris, where Bourdelot is said to have commented his conversion with Ovid’s dictum: “Parvus, nec invideo, sine me liber, ibis in ignem—Friend, I do not envy you to go without my book, into the fire.”⁶⁹

In spite of these sensational events, Christina’s curious readings continued after the abdication. As late as 1665, Girolamo Brusoni in a dialogue argued that Christina knew that in modern disputes of philosophy and theology one can only show one’s aptitude by turning one’s lights “to heretical and atheist propositions, finally to reach *Utrum sit Deus* [whether God exists], and similar rashness.”⁷⁰ Although able to exercise such unusual freedoms, Christina did realize the dangers involved; writing to Ambassador de Lionne in code in 1667, she deplored that Alexander VII’s wheelchair was not a vehicle “à l’autre monde” and then

⁶⁷ René Pintard (1943), p. 399. Richard H. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère—His Life, Writings, and Influence*. 1987.

⁶⁸ Richard H. Popkin (1878) p. 227 ff., Yosef Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism* 1989. p. 132 ff.

⁶⁹ Philibert de la Mare, *De Vita Salmasii*. Ms. Bibl. de Ville, Dijon, Fonds Badou 1026 f. 129 ff. Copy in Uppsala UB, Nordström, box 12.

⁷⁰ Christian Callmer. “Queen Christina’s Library of Printed Books in Rome” in *Queen Christina of Sweden—Documents and Studies*. Magnus von Platen ed. 1966. p. 68. Girolamo Brusoni wrote on Christina’s interest in propositions “d’eretico e

regretted that she could not say this straight out for fear of excommunication.⁷¹

What were the causes of Christina's attitudes? The Catholic view—as presented in Italian pamphlets celebrating Christina's entrance into Rome in December 1655, in her own autobiography, and in Ambassador Chanut's memoirs—is that the sceptical period was merely transitory. Christina's questioning only shows that she never believed in Lutheranism and that her search for the ancient mysteries was a way to evade a Swedish environment that she found barbarous and lacking in finesse. Thus, there are stories of her clashes with the Swedish clergy, like with the court preacher Erik Emporagius, who warned her that in time, God will drive out most rulers. On 8 March 1653, things had gone so far that he held a sermon against Atheism, pointing out that while “vivimus ultimo tempore, ad tunc veniunt” that those who deny the Lord's name will bring down a sudden end, as in 2 Peter 2:1. He went on to quote 1 Corinthians 10, against Epicure.⁷²

It has been claimed that Christina's criticism of Providence was conditioned by a strong reaction against the Calvinism of her mother. At the same time, nothing specific is said about the nature of her research, nor is her involvement with Calvinist unionists ever mentioned. In perfect hindsight, her autobiography lightly touches only the surface of the events around the years 1652–56.

Christina scholars in Sweden have typically relied on the French Ambassador Chanut's hagiographic comments in his memoirs. Whenever a rumour arises or assertions that Christina was involved in unacceptable activities are made, historians refer to Chanut's seemingly impeccable judgment. Chanut wrote with considerable diplomatic style and projected an image of high moral standards that also coloured his view of Christina's personality. When it was shown that the part of the memoirs that cast doubt on the Queen's character was written by Ambassador Piques who took

d'ateista, fino a ricavare 'Utrum sit Deus', e altre simile sciocchezze . . ." an allusion to the libertinism on the fringes of conformity generated in the following of Cremonini. M. G. Stassi ed., "Un 'Trattamento Politico' inedito di Girolamo Brusoni 'La Regina Scurtata'" 1981. p. 54, n. 82

⁷¹ Christina to Azzolino, Dec 11th 1666. Carl Bildt, *Christine de Suede et le Cardinal Azzolino*. 1898. p. 288.

⁷² Italian pamphlets following Galeazza Gualdo Priorato (1656), Christina's Autobiography, and P. Linages de Vaucienne, *Memoires de ce qui s'est passé en Suede . . . jusque en l'année 1655. Tirez de depesches de M. Chanut*. 1675. Erik Emporagius, Ms. T¹78 f. 53–63. Uppsala UB.

over Chanut's position in 1653, a philological justification of the hagiography was made.⁷³

Sven Stolpe's Catholic interpretation, although he has some scepticism about the Italian pamphlets of 1656, is on the whole based on the tradition of honourable Christina images. Although Stolpe managed to eliminate some spurious ideas about Christina's character, there still remains conflicting evidence to account for. Historians of Descartes, in doing research on the philosopher's death and the subsequent transmission of his bones to Paris in 1667, have found that his early biographers who base their comments on Ambassador Chanut's reports are unusually hagiographic. Along with his aide Jaques Belin, Ambassador Chanut appears to have belonged to a French, secret anti-Fronde society that worked for purging France of libertine ideas and for repressing Huguenot influence.⁷⁴ This group formed in 1627 and was called *La Compagnie de Sainte-Sacrement* and had members associated with Descartes's biography such as Cardinal Berulle, Clerselier, Belin, and most probably Chanut. As a Catholic purist Chanut had several clear political reasons for portraying Christina as an impeccably Catholic convert. And yet even Chanut at one point admits that the Queen in Stockholm was very interested in the difficulties Christianity faces from the arguments of philosophers, gentiles, and Jews.⁷⁵

What, then, do Christina scholars think of the counterculture image of Christina as the libertine sceptic? First, there is the notion that pamphlets published in 1655 must be, in Stolpe's words, "libel litterature and propaganda" written by Protestant apologetics. Such texts as *Le Genie de la reine Christine* (1655) in which a list of Christina's philosophical opinions is given (see Item 4, Appendix II), thus appear to be on the same level as later romanticizing and fictional accounts. Second, the many quotations found in the correspondence of scholars contemporary to Christina are explained away as rumours or sensationalism propagated by embittered men whom she had failed to finance.⁷⁶ Christina's late

⁷³ Martin Weibull, "Om 'Memoires de Chanut'" *Historisk Tidskrift* 1887–88. I. pp. 49–80, II. p. 11–192.

⁷⁴ Maxime Leroy, *Descartes—Le Philosophe au Masque* 2 vols. 1929. Raoul Allier, *La Cabale des Devots 1627–1666*. 1902. esp. pp. 97, 116 ff.

⁷⁵ Chanut, quoted in René Pintard (1943) p. 117. For the background to Chanut's memoirs see Martin Weibull (1887–88), I. pp. 49–80. esp. p. 69.

⁷⁶ Sven Stolpe (1982), pp. 29–82. See the many ill-tempered remarks in Nicolas Heinsius' letters in Pieter Burman ed. *Sylloge epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum*. 1727. vol. III.

Quietist mysticism also is used by apologists to justify the suppression of Christina's earlier libertine views. Furthermore, as historically disproven rumours constantly were being propagated in the French-speaking world after her murder of Monaldescho in 1657, and as forged amorous letters were published in the eighteenth century, and as there is a great flowering of clandestine Christina-rumours, historians have chosen to dismiss or try to disprove the accuracy of even the early descriptions, classing them as accusations stemming from a generic class of irresponsible and libertine writers.

I suggest that there is a context in which the historical facts can demand that this lineage of purifying commentary is seen as such. The abundant material of libertine rumours can be accounted for. René Pintard's work on French "éspirt forts" before and after the Fronde of 1649 shows that there was a real political dimension to the irreverent aspects of libertine culture. It is, of course, easy to see that many of the more indulgent renderings of Christina's life were caused by the desire to sell a good story or the vicious intent to smother an image in which so many evangelical observers had invested exaggerated expectations. But how can the later, half-pornographic romances (seemingly deriving from an Electra complex tied to the fate of an exalted woman ruler) abolish the very real mistrust Christina faced from contemporary observers because of her scepticism? If she was sincere, why did she do anything to make people believe otherwise? Some of her statements were rooted in political realism. Thus, in 1654 in Hamburg, she had discussions with the Habsburg Diplomat Plettenberg on the interpretation of the "instrumentum pacis" sealed at Bremen. Plettenberg urged that there must be an "executionem sine glossa", a literal reading in the spirit of Christian love. Christina immediately responded that she, the new King, and the Crown must be "interpres"—for "what is Christian love?"⁷⁷

The core of the claims about Christina's libertinism has a very real base in her pursuit of a satisfactory religion that, as I show below, in the style of radical thinkers made her question the promise of immortality and led her to forms of Hermetic illumination. By converting, she obtained sanction from Rome—the very center of ecclesiastical power—and through the silent acceptance

⁷⁷ For some clear forgeries (Voltaire detected them upon reception) see François Lacombe, *Lettres secrètes de Christine, reine de Suède aux personnages illustres de son siècle, dédiée au Roi de Prusse*. Geneve 1761. G. Plettenberg to the German Emperor, 1 Aug. 1654 in *Historisk Tidskrift* 1884. pp. 351–352.

and political financing of the Vatican she could pursue whatever course she wanted.

As René Pintard has convincingly shown, the source of Christina's sceptical sophistication was her entourage at Stockholm. Fleeing the Fronde and taking diplomatic appointments for various causes, libertine French poets such as Saint-Amand, Marigny, and Cérisantes went to Stockholm to amuse the Queen. But there was another important strand of influence showing that the real impetus to scepticism came less from French poetics than from the Calvinist scholars Claude Saumaise and Isaac Vossius. Both were experts on ancient texts and held new provocative theories about theological linguistics and biblical chronology, and both were considered to be "Judaizers", i.e., as having adopted a natural Deism together with a simplified basic ethical code.⁷⁸

When Isaac Vossius (1618–1689) first arrived he had given Jean de Laet's commentary on the classical architectural principles of Vitruvius (1649) to the Queen. Vossius was very impressed and in letters to friends throughout the learned world he cultivated the image of Christina as the most learned of Sovereigns. In charge of Christina's library, he was sent on journeys to Athens, Paris, and Amsterdam to obtain manuscripts on classical culture. It was also to Vossius that Christina in 1650 started to speak of her dream to live a scholarly life in Holland.⁷⁹ After having left Stockholm, Vossius in 1657 sent the Queen his chronological work *De Vera Aetate Mundi*, in which he generated controversy by arguing on Hebrew precedence that the world is a thousand years older than the 1404 years before Christ that was standardly accepted. He argued that this addition was necessitated by the passage of time found in Egyptian chronology. In reply, Christina quipped that the world, like an old woman, does not want to know its age. Vossius also studied and published on the psychological effects of rhythm and song, the nature and refraction of light, and the geography of the Nile. In 1667 at the Hague, he had contacts with the radical fringe, including Spinoza and the French Epicurean Saint-Evrémond. Later he made a career in England where even Charles II remarked that it was curious that Vossius wrote on sacred history yet

⁷⁸ René Pintard (1943), pp. 115, 118–119. Sven Stolpe (1959), pp. 157–163. On Saumaise's Judaizing tendency see Richard H. Popkin, (1987). pp. 34–35, note 46. Saumaise to Bouillau, Dijon Nov 1644. Österr. Nat. Bibl. Cod. Pal. 7050. f. 180. Saumaise to Christina. Leiden, 3 Oct 1652,

⁷⁹ Isaac Vossius to Rönnendorf, Jan 1650. Conceptbook 8 VI F28, Amsterdam UB. Nordström box 11. Uppsala UB. At this stage, Christina seems to have indicated a sabbatical year—not a permanent abdication.

always came up with theories beyond the Bible. In 1687, all his published work was put on the Catholic Index.⁸⁰

The other influential scholar was Claude Saumaise (1588–1653), who was rumoured to argue that there are no good reasons for believing in the immortality of the Soul; it is said that on his deathbed he refused last rites. In 1644, he had pointed out to the astronomer and Catholic convert Ismael Bouilliau that “for myself I rest in my old skin; and I find the ancient and first Christians to have been great fools in going to the stake and to torments for things of such indifference.” In 1650–53, Saumaise and Christina exchanged many letters, until Saumaise confided to her that his bad health may soon make him pass to “the third side of the Pyramid.”⁸¹ Isaac La Peyrière claimed that Saumaise had been the “midwife” of his thesis on pre-Adamites by supplying records from Chaldean chronology suggesting that the world is at least thirty thousand years old. Saumaise also held that the Flood never was universal, but only a local catastrophe. Being one of the most learned in Christendom, Saumaise in 1648 produced a 2000 page treatise *De Origine et Progressu Astrologiae* in which he evaluated the ancient magicians on their own grounds, showing how well he was versed in the whole of literature, sacred and clandestine. In 1650, Christina wrote that she greatly envied Alexander the Great to have had Aristotle as teacher, and that only the Great Saumaise could terminate her passion by coming to her court. Saumaise replied that he found it strange that the Queen regarded him more as an emperor, or as a Grand Mufti of the Turkish kind, than as the scholar he was. Naturally, Christina tried to obtain his library after his death in 1653. Considering Saumaise as her “spiritual father”, she also promised to pay for the education of Saumaise’s youngest son.⁸²

⁸⁰ Christian Callmer, *Königin Christina—ihre Bibliotekarie und ihre Handschriften*. 1977. Isaac Vossius sent Christina his *De Nili et aliorum Fluvii origine* 1666. Also his *De Natura Lucis et proprietate*. Amsterdam 1662. In his *Farbenlehre*, Goethe notes that Vossius held a discussion at Christina’s court in Brussels 1655 on the nature of light, but that his idea of its corporeality met with total mistrust. (Heinsius claimed that Vossius’ valuable ideas on optics were stolen from Willebrod Snellius). See Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Werke* Bd. 22. 8 aufl. München 1978. pp. 452–460. On Vossius and van Beverland, see *Biographie Universelle*.

⁸¹ Saumaise to Christina, 30 October 1652. Copies from Fonds Baudoin, Dijon Ms. 1026. Bibl. de Ville. Dijon. Also Egerton 28, British Library, London. Christina to Saumaise 1650. Trying to get him to Stockholm, Christina says that it he should be the leader of her philosophical sect which would be an “inani gloria, qui summo te studio posequo, gratoque semper animo agnoscam dei, et tuum erga me beneficium . . .” Nordström box 12. Uppsala UB.

⁸² Christina to Saumaise 27 Jan 1650, Saumaise to Christina 12 July, 1652. Christina wrote a letter to Mrs. Saumaise (now widow) 19 Dec. 1653 reproaching

A year earlier the Queen and her mistress [see the note below] Ebba Sparre had found Saumaise trying to hide in his bed a copy of Beroalde de Verville's *Le Moyen de parvenir*—a Baroque and Rabelaesian dialogue famed for mimicking an ancient bacchanal interspersed with pornographic allusions.⁸³ The correspondence between Vossius and Saumaise, leading up to his arrival in Stockholm, shows a mutual and indiscriminate interest in academic fights, rumours, and contemporary topics such as David Blondel's evidence for the existence of a Popess Jeanne in the ninth century. In his 1684 edition of commentaries on Catullus (I, 1522), Isaac Vossius did not hesitate to use material from his heretic friend Adrien Beverland's *De Prostibulis Veterum*—a now lost compilation of classical pornography. Not surprisingly, the theory was forwarded by

her for destroying Saumaise's (probably heretical) manuscripts: "Votre douleur est juste, & vous devez emploier le reste de vos jours à pleurer cette perte & le crime d'homicide que vous avez commis sur ses écrits . . . Pardonnez, je vous prie, ce transport. L'Indignation m'emporte, & et je ne puis m'empêcher de vous reprocher cette perte inestimable, que je voudrois pouvoir racheter par un tresor." Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. I pp. 233–234. Claude Saumaise last printed works were *De Annis climactericis et Antiqua astrologia diatribae* (1648) *Dionysius ab Alexandria* (1649) and *De origine et progressu Astrologiae, deque variis eius auctoribus et sectis* (1652) and *De Antiquorum et Hodieorum signillorum differentia* (1653).

⁸³ Gilles Menage, *Menagiana* 1729, quoted in René Pintard (1943), p. 120. In 1653, the Queen's "bedfellow" Ebba Sparre married Jakob de la Gardie. (Bedfellowing on cold nights was a common 17th century custom.) However, Whitelock also describes how Christina took one of Ebba's gloves, demonstratively divided it in three and gave a piece to him, to Chanut, and to Pimentel. She used to insist on using Ebba's nickname, "la Belle Comtesse" and invited Whitelocke to a conversation with Ebba and asked him to judge "whether or not her inside was as beautiful as her outside." At her husband's death in 1661, Ebba travelled to Amsterdam in order to meet Christina who then was in Hamburg. It is not known whether the meeting took place. (See Bertil Sundberg, 1967). La Duchesse D'Orleans claims in her memoirs that Christina had Comtesse de Brégy "zur unsucht mit ihr forciert"—forced her to immoral acts. On 2 April 1653, Christina wrote an ardent letter to Charlotte de Brégy, the wife of the French diplomat who was in Stockholm, in 1647–51 to complain that she could not understand de Brégy's silence. Christina said she could cite the Pythagoreans, but "un ignorant comme vous" would not understand it. She goes on in a way that has raised suspicion: "Si i'etois Roi de France je vous croirois plustot propre à toute autre chose que governner et ie me servirois de vous pour toutes autres affaire que pour celles d'état . . ." (Letter in Amsterdam Univ. library.)

Speculation on Christina's love affairs have varied. Stolpe dogmatically asserts that Christina never had sex with any man (or woman), not even with Cardinal Azzolino who Christina befriended in Rome. Otherwise, early male candidates are Charles Gustavus (only a child romance), Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie (before his Paris journey in 1646), Klas Tott, her father's sister's son, whom she in 1651 suggested as crown heir in case of the death of Charles Gustavus and who travelled with her to Antwerp. Official offers for marriage that Christina turned down were: Charles Gustavus, Fredrick Wilhelm of Brandenburg, Karl Ludwig of the Pfalz, the son of Ferdinand III, Leopold of Habsburg, and then it is said even Philip of Spain and Leopold Wilhelm of the Spanish Netherlands.

the Protestant scholar Hermann Conring that Saumaise with his learning, and Isaac Vossius with his impious and improper ways, were the real abusers of Christina's character.⁸⁴

Another seducer was the medical doctor Pierre Michon Bourdelot (1610–1685), who by inducing a light diet and an abandonment of books cured the Queen in 1652 of her neurotic disorder. Accused of being a joker by dead serious philologists such as Nicolas

The little known letter *D'un Gentilhomme Anglois de la Suite de Mylord Whitlock . . . , Upsal le 8 May 1654* (see Appendix II, no. 9) quite explicitly regards Ambassador Pimentel as Christina's lover, and uses information on her nightly meetings with him as evidence. It locates their first rendez-vous in a grotto at Jakobsdahl, some time after Christina's terminated romance with Magnus Gabriel. Pimentel's activities are indeed cryptic, the most blatant problem is the lack of correspondence between him and the Queen. There is very scarce concrete evidence, beyond the often repeated suspicions, that Pimentel was more than a political instrument. At one point he planned to bring his wife and children to Stockholm. However, in 23 October 1654, William Boreel in Paris writes to Jan de Witt, claiming that he has seen a letter from the Queen to Pimentel that makes him imagine that their relation "parle d'un amour tout charnel", and that her language is made to "servir à un amour le plus violent". In the memoirs of Montecuccoli, 3 October 1653, we are told that he, Christina, and Pierre Chanut had a discussion on the unity of love. The Queen wanted to know whether it is the natural feeling that is experienced in dreams. Later that spring, Montecuccoli tells her that love is born out of similarity. On 5 March 1654, during a carriage-ride, Christina with Montecuccoli, Caprera, von der Linde, and Tott discussed the ideas of both Ovid's *De Amoribus* and G. H. de Cérisy's *La metamorphose des yeux de Phillis en astre* (1639).

In his unpublished papers at Uppsala UB, Johan Nordström opens another line of research by pointing out that the libertine musicians du Picquet and Alexander Cecconi are said to have taught the Queen how to swear in French. They are described as "les cochons de la Reine" (which of course could mean "simple servants"). Cecconi was sent to cull banned books in Florence and both travelled with her to Antwerp and Rome. Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. IV, p. 233, reports a letter from Bourdelot to du Picquet's previous master Monsieur de Scudéry, where Bourdelot exclaims "je l'aime" and that the Queen has begun to "le gouter". The *Lettre Anglois* states that Bourdelot's friend, the surgeon Ézechius Surreaux was given 30. 000 Rdr. to treat, with the help of Madame Wachtmeister, "la grossesse de la Reyne". Chanut's doctor, Duriez, refused to assist. One Spanish report (*Avisos . . . de Barrionuevo* 1657) cites the rumour that "Cristina se aborta" on the way to Paris in 1656. Nordström notes that in *Analecta Benzeliana* p. 15, there are two reports on illegitimate daughters of the Queen (with Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie). The birth of her grandchild, a girl called "Jungfru Stina", is said to have taken place at the manor Stackel [Staeket?] of Lisa Oxenstierna in 1710. The origin of the rumour was the Swedish nobleman Nils Bielke. See also Ch. I, n. 3. Ch. XV, n. 44, and Ch. XVII, n. 40.

⁸⁴ Hermann Conring to Christian von Boineburg 4 Dec 1662, Conring calls Vossius' service to the Queen "impium et improbum" and adds that Vossius "flexo scilicet incantae foemina animo ad Atheismum et malos mores; surreptis et libris et aliis nonnullis haud levis preti", vol. II, p. 1019 of *Commerci Epistolic Leibnitiani, ad omne genus eruditioris—Boineburgica*. 2 vols. Hannover & Göttingen 1745, noticed by René Pintard (1943), p. 119. See also Curt Weibull, "Drottning Kristinas omvandelse till Katolicismen", *Scandia* 28 pp. 196–326. p. 241 n. 5.

Heinsius, Marcus Meibom, and Samuel Bochart, Bourdelot drew upon a wealth of radical opinions gained from his involvement with the Italian utopist Tomaso Campanella, whom he in 1634 had helped to escape to France, and from his many stagings of scientific meetings at Chantilly, the Chateau of the house of Condé.⁸⁵ In the Stockholm gatherings, Bourdelot argued against the existence of demons, and according to Heinsius he presented in jest a catechesis of atheism to the Swedish clergy and willfully spread blasphemous propositions on God and the sacred Scriptures. The catechesis remains unidentified, but the work of Garasse and even the infamous manuscript on the three impostors are possible candidates.⁸⁶ Other strange acts include his walking straight into the Queen's chamber where he sat down while she was still standing. One day he asked a stunned Bochart if he had any thoughts on a certain book called the Bible. Heinsius claimed that Bourdelot's mystery only was to hold that "the gods are nothing, the heavens empty; and words of virtue are for putting out the light." Bochart could not refrain from calling him "le peché originel qui est ici."⁸⁷

Christina thought him a man "tout a fait rare", and calling him "mon agreable ignorant", she kept writing to Bourdelot long after having fired him due to his constant quarrels with her Swedish confidant Count Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, former ambassador at Paris.⁸⁸ De la Gardie may have quarrelled with Bourdelot as part of a French political maneuver, the scene ultimately led to Christina's feeling betrayed by De la Gardie. When he started to quarrel with another of her advisors in 1653 she aborted his influence by writing him one of her sharpest and most spiteful letters.⁸⁹

The French had been worried that Bourdelot's scepticism would ruin their national reputation or that through him the Prince of Conde's clandestine pro-Spanish plans would gain success with the Queen. The correspondence between Paris and Chanut in 1652-53 repeatedly includes discussions about how to obstruct

⁸⁵ René Pintard (1943), pp. 390-393. Leon Blanchet, *Campanella*. 1920 p. 61. Harcourt Brown, *Scientific Organizations in France 1620-1680*. 1934. Robert Dénichou, *Un Médecin de grande siècle—l'Abbé Bourdelot*. 1928. A. Lemoine and E. Lichtenberger, *Trois familiers du Grand Condé*. 1909.

⁸⁶ René Pintard (1943), p. 390. Heinsius to Gronovius, Stockholm 24 December 1653, in Burmann, *Sylloge* III, p. 329.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 390.

⁸⁸ Christina to Saumaise, 23 June 1652. "Mon agreable ignorant", F. U. Wrangel (1901) p. 37. P. Sondén, "Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie vid tronsskiftet 1654" *Historisk Tidskrift* 1908.

⁸⁹ Christina to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie 5 December 1653, Arckenholtz (1751) vol. I. p. 359, Comp. Sven Stolpe (1982) pp. 88-102, letter reprinted on p. 99.

and finally remove Bourdelot from the Queen.⁹⁰ When he had to leave, Heinsius wrote:

Alastor's [Saumaise] accomplice, I mean the Archiater [Bourdelot], has, as you may know, had an accident at court . . . he has received the command to pack up. Thus we were saved by Apollo, I will offer a cock to Asclepios that delivered us from this plague.

In 1655, Bourdelot was refused a passletter from France to the Spanish Netherlands, where he wanted to join Christina in Antwerp. Yet, in 1656 in Paris Bourdelot was Christina's personal guide to the Parisian culture of letters.⁹¹ Through Louis XIV, she arranged a French abbacy for Bourdelot. Although he carried the nominal title of Abbé, the final crowning of the libertine rumours emerged with Saint-Simon's description of Bourdelot's supposed gathering with the Prince of Condé and the Palatine Princess Anna Henriette to burn a piece of the true and inflammable cross.⁹² As a suitable end, he died from an overdose of opium.

Bourdelot's lack of scruples also was helpful in his assistance in assuring the censorship of Linage de Vauciennes' edition of Christina's life in Stockholm, i.e., with Ambassador Piques' extension of Ambassador Chanut's commentary. On the request of Christina, who had seen the manuscript, Bourdelot arranged the censorship. Then he wrote to le Grand Condé on 6 November 1674, to tell how he was flooded by printers who wanted his protection from being sent to the galley. As Curt Weibull has shown, the first printing of Linage de Vauciennes' edition bearing the stamp "A Paris, Chez Louis Billaine" 1674 contains observations on the Stockholm court that are censored in all following editions that are stamped "A Paris, Chez Claude Barbin" 1674. The struck out events include a story also found in Ambassador van Beuningen's letter of 25 January 1653 to Vossius: that Christina, after dancing the wedding dance at Ebba Sparre's marriage, ordered everyone to strip off their clothes. This was also done by some of the invited.⁹³

When Bourdelot, Vossius, and Saumaise convened in Stockholm

⁹⁰ René Pintard (1943), p. 402. Chanut to Brienne, *Lettres Pierre Chanut* vol. VII. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fond Français 1652–1653, p. 412 ff. Comp. Bourdelot's letters to Saumaise May 1652 reprinted in A. Lemoine and E. Lichtenberger (1909), pp. 279–282.

⁹¹ René Pintard (1943), p. 398.

⁹² René Pintard (1943), Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* 1698. art. "Bochart" doubts the event, but Nicholas Heinsius confirms it in Pieter Burman *Sylloge*. III, p. 659, E. Allaire, *La Bruyère dans la maison de Condé*. Paris 1886. vol. I, p. 137. It is also reported that the cross would not burn, making Bourdelot infuriated.

⁹³ Curt Weibull, *Scandia* 28, 1962. p. 206n.

in 1651, they furnished a libertine climate, but not primarily by scholarly abandon and theatrical acts. Their conviction that there was a need for altering the prevailing tradition of authorities and derivative interpretations had a lasting impact on Christina and her times. The young Queen's own readings in Cicero, Sextus Empiricus, and Jean Bodin, thus should not be regarded as a merely accidental outcome of the influence of some scholars' impious and improper ways. They had a serious philosophical and ideological point: the rights and even superiority of individual reason over traditional institutional authority.

CHAPTER THREE

CHRISTINA AND DESCARTES: DISASSEMBLING A MYTH

Was the Queen of Sweden's decision to abdicate in 1654, influenced by philosophical considerations that can be traced to Descartes' visit to her court in 1649? Are there elements in Descartes' philosophy that can have made a difference in Christina's choice to travel to Rome and to be confirmed as Catholic by the Pope? Several writers have argued that an examination of Descartes' correspondence with Christina could explain why the Queen chose to abandon her national Protestantism. Nevertheless, the idea of such an influence is misguided. I think we must reject all three of the common assumptions about the influence of Descartes on Christina: Descartes did not have a deciding influence on Queen Christina's conversion, he had little to do with her scepticism, and his philosophy played no formative role in her decisions.¹ Instead, Descartes' meeting with Queen Christina has been used for the apologetic purpose of dispelling the strong doubts about Christina's Catholic sincerity. I believe that by showing the mythical character of Descartes' influence on the Queen, one can more clearly see the nature of Christina's irreligious scepticism.

In an ambitious study, Ernst Cassirer tried to show that the catastrophic relationship between the two, ending with Descartes' death, may have facilitated Christina's acceptance of a Naturalist religion that set the Catholic claim to universality in focus. Catholicism as a rational belief system could offer Christina arguments to overcome her view of religion as "a political invention" leading to war and disintegration. Cassirer's point is that Descartes gave insights to Christina on how to overcome the sceptical arguments against religion that we know from contemporary records she had begun to formulate. However, these records show that many of the Queen's contemporaries persisted in seeing her abdication and public conversion as political statements rooted in cynicism, and self-love. Notwithstanding the difficulties in Cassirer's case, there may have been a philosophical dimension to Christina's step that, however, cannot be called Cartesian. Cassirer was probably right

¹ For another view, see Irene Behn, *Der Philosoph und der Königin: Renatus Cartesius und Christina Wasa, Briefwechsel und Begegnung*. Alber, Freiburg 1957.

in arguing for Christina's naturalism although the evidence for this is not that from Descartes' influence, but from other developments that stem from the ancient tradition of belief in a single universal spirit.

Why would Descartes, who earlier had shown no signs of wanting more financial support or academic company, want to go to Sweden? Did the widely projected image of the Swedish Queen as a Minerva of the North, perhaps play a role? In 1646, the French Ambassador to Sweden, Pierre Chanut, had started to tell Descartes of the unusual gifts of the young Queen, and also Descartes was taken by the idea of a learned sovereign. The Sveo-Gallic alliance had lately been threatened by the presence of anti-royalist libertines at the Swedish court and Chanut wanted to provide a more orthodox French influence on the Queen. Descartes may have offered himself as a political instrument for France. He had however not lived in France for twenty years, but instead had inhabited various locations in Holland, possibly because of its freer conditions of publication.

Descartes may have expected that the Stockholm scene was to become an intellectual ground for the more controversial issues in his new mechanistic theories on physiology and medicine. Royal support in Sweden could be a way to have his ideas gain influence also in more orthodox countries, such as France. There are rumours that he was offered a castle in Pommerania by the Swedish Government. These may, however, have arisen because the man to bring him to the Swedish ship (and then only on a second attempt) was General Hermann Flemming, the resident of the Pommeranian castle Wolgast.² Descartes brought along all his books and unpublished manuscripts to Stockholm and perhaps hoped to begin a Cartesian reformation with the Swedish Queen as the central political focus.

Another personal reason for going to Stockholm, besides his friendship with Chanut, may have been the one that at points emerges in his letters, that he wanted to help the impoverished

² Ernst Cassirer, *Descartes. Lehre—Persönlichkeit—Wirkung*. Stockholm 1939. The rumour on the Castle has been communicated to me by Richard A. Watson. There may in fact have been a Dutch intrigue regarding Descartes. In 1652, Claude Saumaise wrote to one of his sons in Stockholm, Josien or Claude, that Vossius is not to be trusted since he had shown the Queen a secret message: "par un billet se paré qu'il le donna garde de Descartes, que j'étois bien informé de dessein qu'il avoit de le decriditier aupres de la Reine. Je lui touché aussi quelque chose de la Princesse Elisabeth, et la priois à la fin de bruler ce billet et ne le communiquer à personne". Codex Burman F. 4. f. 275. Leiden UB. Copy in Nordström box 12, Uppsala UB.

Princess Elisabeth of the Palatinate by soliciting Christina's support. Since 1643, Descartes had been in correspondence with this eldest daughter of Fredrick, the former "Winter King" of Bohemia, and she was now exiled in the Hague. Descartes showed Christina most of his letters to Elisabeth and may have hoped that the Swedish Queen would appreciate his moral and psychological insights and perhaps be brought to support Princess Elisabeth's Protestant family.

Researchers have overlooked that there also may have been an important scientific reason for the travel. On 22 March 1648, Chanut in a letter to Mersenne expressed a wish to get in contact with Descartes in order to "travailler ensemble aux expériences" that the mathematician Roberval had suggested in reviewing Descartes' *Geometry*.³ Chanut then travelled first to Paris and then to Amsterdam to discuss these experiments with Descartes. It was in these meetings that the travel to Sweden was decided.

In Descartes' system, matter equals extension and thus space is entirely filled. Motion occurs only through a constant displacement and rearrangement. A portion of matter can move only if a second portion moves out of its way and so on until an nth portion replaces the first portion. Movement in the plenum thus is of necessity circular and the constant motion tends to create swerves and whorls. Hence, Descartes' universe consists of huge vortexes of matter in motion. The motion of the vortex exerts pressure, or friction, on containing bodies. The transmission of this pressure, in the form of light, is instantaneous. Roberval had argued that Descartes' recent dismissal of Pascal's experiment to show that a vacuum can be produced in a glass tube of mercury, instead indicates that even the material plenum must contain a void. Descartes had stated that since light travels through the glass tube there can be no vacuum, but rather, the glass must have interstices through which subtle matter can penetrate. Roberval's point is that a rarefaction of subtle matter in the material plenum (as required if mercury is to be replaced by something when it sinks in the tube) would demand an infinity of small voids. In a letter to Mersenne on 4 April 1648, Descartes claimed that the interstices in the glass tube may vary in width with changes in temperature. His focus thus was on Roberval's problem of how to account for the rarefactions in the material plenum. Although he ridiculed Roberval and Pascal (say-

³ See the extensive Descartes-Elisabeth correspondence in Charles Adam and Paul Tannery, *Oeuvres de Descartes* Vol. IV. In English transl. John J. Blom, *Descartes—His Moral Philosophy and Psychology* 1978.

ing that the only vacuum there is, can be found in the head of Pascal) he did realize that the experiments had some bearing on the validity of his own theory of matter. A plenum does not allow a vacuum.

On 24 September 1649, the mathematician Carcavi wrote to Descartes on the generation of motion and related questions regarding Roberval's insistence on a void. When Descartes arrived in Sweden, the debate with Roberval thus was fresh in his mind. In Stockholm, from 21 October 1649 to 24 September 1650, Chanut and Descartes made barometrical observations. They even designed a new tube that utilized a waterfunnel to measure the specific level of heights. Chanut wrote that in this period there was a fluctuation of heights in the mercury that may have to do with the varying winds. In a note from 8 December, Descartes jotted down beside the mercury height measure that on that day the temperature "fait fort froid". Chanut's and Descartes' observations on air pressure are reported by Pascal who writes in his *Traitez de l'équilibre des liqueurs et de la pesanteur de la masse de l'air* (1663) that due to them one can see that "the differences are found to be as great in Stockholm, as in Paris or Clermont."⁴

Another point comes to mind. Torricelli had argued that the earth is submerged in an ocean of air, and that the air has weight. Descartes agreed that the fall in the tube, and the width of the vacuum, is due to atmospheric pressure. The ocean of air above ground varies in weight with the shape of the hemisphere. But since according to Descartes the air above the earth is at the center of a vortex, it must be of an oval shape. A travel north on the hemisphere could thus be construed as bearing on a change in barometrical pressure, although the changes would not indicate a vacuum but rather some other mechanism—perhaps resulting from an increase in air mass friction. To conjecture that a travel so far north on the hemisphere as Stockholm would bear out evidence for the non-existence of a vacuum thus just may explain why Descartes' accepted Queen Christina's offer in 1649 that he come to her Swedish court.

The Meeting

Some time before his arrival at the Stockholm court in October 1649, Descartes had dedicated his work *The Passions of the Soul* to

⁴ Chanut to Mersenne, Stockholm 22 March 1648. Reprinted in Armand Beaulieu ed. *Correspondence du Marin Mersenne*. Paris Vol. XV 1983, pp. 323–328, 569–572. Vol. XIV 1980, pp. 642–654. Barometrical observations, Adam/Tannery VI: 448–449, On Roberval A/T VI: 199–200.

Princess Elisabeth. Descartes decided to send a manuscript copy of this work also to Christina, as well as some of his letters to Elisabeth in which he discussed the moral themes in Seneca's *De Vita Beata*.⁵ Christina had by that time also looked through Descartes' *Principles of Philosophy*. Chanut reports that Christina was distant and thoughtful for a couple of days while she was reading the book. Later she had her Greek tutor, the German neo-Stoic, Johannes Freinsheimsius, instruct her in Descartes' *Principles*.⁶

A sign of his political role is that after Descartes had settled in Stockholm, he is supposed to have written a libretto to the ballet *La Naissance de la paix* in honor of Christina's role as peace guarantor at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Recently, Richard A. Watson has argued that this attribution depends on a misreading of the documents and that it naturally follows that the real author was the French unionist and poet Hélie Poirier. Poirier had recently written the play *La Diane Vaincu* and the ballet master Beaulieu had directed the scenes. Descartes' libretto was expanded upon by the Swedish poet Stiernhielm, and its most striking ingredient is the sad lot of the peasants who inhabit the scenes of battle. The evidence that Descartes did not write the ballet will be important in deciding whether his relation to Chanut had a political dimension. *La Naissance de la paix* is similar to Poirier's and Stiernhielm's play *Parnassus Triumphans* written for Christina's coronation in 1650. Both plays describe the horrors of war and the cultural achievements made possible by the Queen's protection of the peace.⁷ Stiernhielm was also a philosopher. In a series of works called *Peplum Minerva* he set out a mind, matter, lux metaphysics that built on the Hermetic tradition of belief in a material spirit. Stiernhielm dedicated these works to the Queen, and she also listened to some of his lectures in Uppsala. After meeting Descartes, Stiernhielm had no sympathy for Cartesianism. He called it "philosophare sine mente".

Queen Christina's intention was to take some lessons from

⁵ Descartes to Elisabeth 6 June 1647, John J. Blom (1978) pp. 224–225. Descartes to Chanut 20 Nov 1647, Descartes to Elisabeth, 20 Nov 1647, John J. Blom (1978) p. 231 and pp. 232–234. Descartes' letters to Elisabeth on Seneca's *De Vita Beata* include 4 Aug 1645, 1 Sep 1645, 15 Sep 1645, 6 Oct 1645. The package does not include the discussion on Machiavelli's *The Prince*, Descartes to Elisabeth, Sept-Oct 1646. Elisabeth's answers are not included.

⁶ Chanut to Descartes 11 May 1647, John J. Blom (1978), p. 214.

⁷ *La Naissance de la Paix* in Adam/Tannery Vol. X. William McL. Stewart, "Descartes and Poetry" *Romanic Review* XXIV, New York 1938 p. 226 ff. Richard A. Watson, "René Descartes n'est pas l'auteur de 'La Naissance de la Paix'". *Archives de Philosophie* 1990: 3, pp. 389–401.

Descartes in mathematics and philosophy, but she actually met with him only four or five times. Descartes complained bitterly that the Queen was too taken by Greek studies and he doubted that she would ever find time to study his philosophy.⁸ Christina was at the time involved in classical studies with one of Europe's leading philologists, Isaac Vossius, who reports that Christina had asked Descartes to comment on the views of the ancients. Descartes had replied that while he had studied the Greeks in his youth, there was nothing in their thinking worth restating. When Descartes had tried to drive the ancient philosophers out of her hands, Christina instead had tried to convince Descartes that his doctrines were not as new and original as he claimed. She could show that they occur even in Plato and Sextus Empiricus. Vossius claimed that Descartes could respond no else than that the Queen should rejoice that the same doctrines had sprung up both in his and in those others' minds. Vossius concludes that not even Plato could have defended his doctrine better than Christina.⁹

Christina declared that she preferred Descartes' mathematics to his philosophy, perhaps meaning his idea of a *mathesis universalis*—his universal algebraization of material systems, as applicable to her special interest in astronomy and calculations on the comets. Descartes' physical model of the world as mechanistic interactions in an extended plenum also accounted for how a fixed star can be changed into a comet. In the chapter "Of the Visible World" in his *Principles*, he showed that a comet can continue its motion through different vortices and on its course through refraction create a visible tail.¹⁰ In Sweden, Cartesian physics was suspected to be a mere restatement of the Stoic cosmology, as shown by Stiernhielm's friend Peter Hoffwenius, who in 1652 counted it a merit that Descartes had discovered the fiery nature of the sun. However, Christina seems to have been more interested in the consequences of knowledge, than in its purely academic exercise. In her own *Maxims* she comments that "One must know the

⁸ Descartes to Elisabeth, 9 Oct. 1649.

⁹ Isaac Vossius quoted in Harald Wieselgren, *Drottning Kristinas Bibliotek och Bibliotekarier före hennes bosättning i Rom* 1901. p. 24. ". . . Plato, Sexto alisque. Ad que ille nihil respondit nisi sive gaudere se eadem que sibi et illis quoque in mentem venisse". Compare 29 December 1649, no. 62 in D. J. H. Ter Horst, *Isaac Vossius een Salmasius* 1938. And Vossius Concept book 8, VI F28. Amsterdam UB, D 62–63. Christina to Claude Saumaise, March 1650, repr. in Philibert de la Mare, *Vie de Saumaise*, quoted in Adam/Tannery Vol. V, p. 461. Original in MSS. Egerton 28, British Museum Library, London.

¹⁰ *Principles of Philosophy*, Part III, no. cxix ff.

world morally, not only physically or mathematically.”¹¹

We know that Christina read Descartes’ *Meditations* and a copy of his *Discourse on the Method* was in her library in Rome, but there is little in her writings that can be derived from his philosophy. It has, however, been pointed out that one entry in her maxims where she says that everyone over thirty must be their own physician, is almost a copy of what Descartes used to say. But in any case, in January 1650, Vossius wrote to Saumaise of how the Queen complained about the mediocrity of Descartes’ descriptions of the emotions in *The Passions of the Soul*. Vossius regarded Descartes as a sceptic, but thought that while scepticism long had been in fashion, its strength derived entirely from being pitted against Platonism.¹²

Just before his death, Christina invited Descartes to write the rules for an academy of the Swedish language. The result is a charter of statutes on the French pattern that set up a plan for conducting learned discussions. The important point about the charter is simply that Descartes did not intend the academy as a center for his philosophy, and one of its statutes stipulates that no foreigners should participate.¹³

On 11 February 1650 Descartes died, just about four months after having arrived at Stockholm. He had caught the pneumonia which also afflicted the Queen and Ambassador Chanut. Attempting to cure himself with tobacco-water, he refused medical help from Christina’s physicians almost to the last. He had no confidence in the ordinary cures and believed he had found a dietary method for prolonging his life. The Cambridge Platonist Henry More, for instance, recalled that Descartes somewhat cryptically used to say that his science would make him live longer than 920 years [longer than Lamech, but less than Methusalem?].¹⁴ Descartes had failed to gain access to the inner circles of the court and bitterly complained that in Sweden men’s minds seemed to freeze in winter.¹⁵ Disliked by the historians and the medical doctors at the court, Descartes was the center for many scornful comments.

¹¹ G. Stiernhielm “The Blue Book” p. 63, Royal Library, Stockholm. Note in Nordström box 4. Uppsala UB. Maxim no. 495, in Sven Stolpe ed. *Les Sentiments Heroiques* 1959.

¹² Vossius to Saumaise January 1650 in Ter Horst (1938) no. 63 From BN Fonds Latin 8596 f. 79. Paris. Vossius to Claude Sarrau 1649, Amsterdam UB D 63. Nordström box 11.

¹³ On Descartes’ academy statutes see Johan Nordström, “Några notiser om Drottning Kristinas Akademier” *Lychnos*, Uppsala 1940. pp. 333–341. esp. pp. 334–335.

¹⁴ Henry More to Samuel Hartlib, 2 April 1650, in Adam/Tannery V: 635–636.

¹⁵ Descartes to Brégy, 15 Jan 1650.

Christina added her judgment that if he had only managed Descartes would have extinguished the arguments of all others, would have dethroned Aristotle and made himself the leader of philosophy.

Soon after Descartes's death rumours gave rise to the legend that he had been poisoned by the Hellenists at the court. It was claimed that evidence for a conspiracy could be found in the satirical Latin epitaphs that circulated among the German scholar Hermann Conring's friends. These kinds of Baroque speculation did not cease with the publication in 1691 of the details of Descartes's death in Adrian Baillet's biography. Baillet drew upon the report of Ambassador Chanut, who described the death scene and who collected and made an inventory of Descartes' books and manuscripts. Chanut also designed and let Christina sponsor a monument to the philosopher in the form of a stucco pyramid with a text that conveys an unbounded admiration for his new science: "In the peace of winter, Nature's mysteries were successfully matched/ with II Mathesis [dual coordinates]./ Each secret [Utrusque arcana]/ may with this key/ be held on to/ he daringly hoped . . ./after the instauration of fundamental Philosophy/ he was ready to penetrate the nature of the Mortal road/ [with tools] New, certain, and solid."¹⁶

Yet, Chanut's account of Descartes' last days and death is written in such a highminded and angelic tone that some contemporaries felt that Chanut as a Catholic purist glossed over the real hostilities. It became known that a Swedish captain had robbed the skull from the grave and intended to sell it on the Continent. Questions were soon raised: Was it necessary to have buried Descartes on unsanctified ground, outside the boundaries of the graveyard? Could one even be sure on the identity of the buried corpse? In an anonymous satire called *Nouveaux mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du cartesianisme* (1692), Pierre-Daniel Huet spread other mysterious details of how Descartes had made a fool of himself at a public speech at the Stockholm court. In the speech Descartes had said that since he could not remember the exact Greek of the historian of the Barbaric wars, Procopius, he would explain the thinker's philosophy in French. But the Queen and the whole auditorium had read Procopius' other works—on mysterious anecdotes and ancient buildings—and they all knew that this classical author never wrote any such philosophy. In shame, Descartes fled to Lycksele in Lapland. Descartes looked like a Lapp; therefore, the

¹⁶ Christina to Claude Saumaise, 1651, Adam/Tannery V: 461. Pierre Chanut, *Monumentum Holmiae positum Renato des Cartes*. Stockholm 1650.

Lappish Shamans admitted him to their rites of drumbeating. According to Huet, Chanut had told him that it was during these events that Descartes caught pneumonia and died.

The Correspondence

The philosophical content of the meeting between the two is found in the correspondence leading up to Descartes' arrival. The correspondence went through the hands of Ambassador Chanut who was Descartes' personal friend. It started in 1646 and followed with several letters until Descartes finally entered the court in October 1649. Chanut transmitted Christina's questions.¹⁷ She wanted to know which was worse, the ill use of love or of hate? Chanut hastened to add that "the term 'love' was used in the sense of the philosophers, not as it frequently rings in the ears of girls, and the question was general."¹⁸ Descartes reinterpreted the question into three parts and gave it a Catholic tinge in directing the question to the theological issue between matter and spirit, and to whether reason can encompass our inclinations from faith.

Thus he answered the questions: 1) What is love? 2) Does the natural light teach us to love God? 3) Which is worse, disordered and misused love, or hate?¹⁹ In working out answers he displayed his particular version of dualistic metaphysics, declaring that although love as a passion is a movement of the material nerves, intellectual love occurs when the immaterial Soul perceives some good to which it willingly judges to join itself.²⁰ Apparently Descartes' problem was to reconcile his rationalist conception of God with the notion of God as creator and source for the human emotion of love. For Descartes, the question of our love for God is difficult, since the attributes of God are so far beyond our ability to imagine them that we must instead see him as a thing that thinks. Although we cannot imagine God, we have some faint resemblance to the infinite power of God in our ability to make free use of our will and can thereby understand our love for him. We can perceive our wish to join him and can consider ourselves as a small part of his immense creation.²¹ Descartes states that love can be put to more

¹⁷ Descartes said that his travel to Sweden mostly was a favour to his friend Pierre Chanut. Descartes to Clerselier, 23 April 1649.

¹⁸ Chanut to Descartes, 1 Dec 1646, in John J. Blom (1978) p. 200.

¹⁹ Descartes to Chanut, 1 Feb 1647, *Ibid.* p. 201 ff.

²⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 201–202.

²¹ *Ibid.* pp. 207–208.

misuse if disordered because its force and vigour blinds us more than does hate.

Through Chanut, Christina answers that she is unable to judge the problem of love as she has never felt any such emotion.²² Christina never again mentions in her writings Descartes' conceptual separation of material nerves and intellectual love. In 1656, one discussed the problem of love and hate in her Roman academy, but the format was Neo-Platonic eros-speculation that saw love as the hidden spring for all human activities.

Dismissing the greater part of Descartes' eight page letter, she instead challenges him with the thought that the idea of an infinite God and creation conflicts with Christian doctrine: "If one once admits the world infinite in its matter and substance, then so much the more must one believe it infinite in all its parts, and thus the history of creation, stated very clearly in the Holy Scriptures, would not retain its manifest authority; and at the other term of duration, the end of the world, it is likewise difficult to conceive it in a large infinity of production without limits . . ."²³ A Christian follows the Scripture and as "we conceive the world as but a small work of an immense power which is not entirely depleted, we see no obstacle to its having a beginning and an end."²⁴

Christina further thinks that in an infinite universe man cannot be the end of creation, the one for which all other things have been made, "if we conceive the world in that vast extension you give it, it is impossible that man conserve himself therein in this honourable rank, on the contrary he shall consider himself along with the entire universe he inhabits as in but a small corner, tiny and in no proportion to the enormous size of the rest. He shall very likely judge that these stars have inhabitants, or even that the earths surrounding them are all filled with creatures more intelligent and better than he, certainly, he will lose the opinion that this infinite extent of the world is made for him or can serve him in any way."²⁵ Chanut vividly depicts how Christina when she discussed ideas such as these used to remove her crown and put it at her feet. He claimed that Christina thought that everyone irrespective of their social rank ought to hold on to heroic virtue and Stoic ethics—topics on which Chanut thought she was "marvellously strong". Chanut's rendering of the Queen's objections seems on the surface

²² Chanut to Descartes, 11 May 1647, *Ibid.* pp. 215 ff.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 215.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 216.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 216.

to indicate that Christina was deeply religious.²⁶ But one should be cautious of Ambassador Chanut's rendering of her statements. In other contexts Christina's sceptical attitude towards central Christian doctrines, such as salvation by grace and an ultimately bodily resurrection, has been documented. Her clear statements and doubts on the possibility of a Christian creation in an infinite universe, and the possibility of a plurality of worlds, also led her to be deeply troubled by Church dogma.

In his answer, Descartes shortcuts the existential anxiety implicit in Christina's view of the Universe. He explains that the place religion attributes to man is not that of the end of creation. God himself is the efficient and final cause of the Universe and each creature can reciprocally claim for itself that all things in service to it, are made for it.²⁷ But Descartes still assumes that in our political existence, honour, rank, and position are sanctioned by God in order to form a perfectly structured world. The thought that man would lose in value when the number of equal or superior creatures increases confounds two sorts of values: a) Goods that are reduced in value when others possess similar goods such as glory and riches. b) Goods that are not so reduced, such as virtue, science, health, and intelligence.²⁸ Descartes affirms that the unlimited extent of the Universe implies values of the second sort and explains that "When we love God and through him willingly join ourselves to all the things he has created, then the greater, nobler, and more perfect we conceive those things, so much the more do we esteem ourselves as well, because the whole of which we are parts is more accomplished . . ."²⁹ Descartes sees the danger of his position on the infinite extent of matter, but refers to the fact that Nicolas of Cusa affirmed without being censored the infinite extent of the Universe. Descartes dissolves the conflict by declaring that the kind of infinity he meant was, that as we cannot conceive a limit to the matter of which the world is composed, we have to call it unlimited. There might be some limits known to God and thus we cannot say that the world is absolutely infinite.³⁰ As in many other places, he separates the realm of faith and revelation from that of reason, and accepts Church authority as his in religion. We should philosophize only where Divine revelation reveals nothing.

²⁶ Johan Nordström, "Cartesius och Drottning Kristinas omvälvelse" *Lychnos* Uppsala, 1940.

²⁷ Descartes to Chanut, 6 Jun 1647, *Ibid.* pp. 218 ff.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 222.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 222.

³⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 219–220.

The continuing discussion shows the character of the correspondence. Queen Christina is troubled and seeks an answer to her far reaching questions. Descartes tries to reconcile and tone down the conflict with Scripture and doctrine. Christina asks what the highest good is. Descartes answers in terms of Stoic ethics that is common in the seventeenth century. In an unusual and perhaps inconsistent move he says that he wants to combine the ideas of Zeno who placed the highest good in virtue and honour, and of Epicurus who placed the highest good in the contentment which he called pleasure. Thus the highest good of each person consists in a firm will to do well and the contentment which that produces.³¹ Descartes here echoes the stoical insight that one ought to structure one's life so as to establish a character from which a disciplined mentality will flow without force, art, or argument.³² He then turns to the question of whether one is right to prefer those to whom our secret inclinations join us. He approves, provided that we remark merit in them as well, and that their cause lies in the mind, a cause that is marked by reciprocated inclinations—which not often is true when the cause lies in the body.³³ Thereafter, Chanut contributes more to the debate than Christina—probably because he sees in Descartes a chance for France to flatter the Queen.

Ernst Cassirer's Claims

As a refugee in Sweden during World War II, Ernst Cassirer wrote an interesting essay on the relation between Christina, Descartes, and the intellectual climate at the Stockholm court. Cassirer argues that Descartes' moral example influenced Christina to seek her faith in Catholic terrains.³⁴ His assumption is grounded in a few statements by Christina to the effect that Descartes had some influence on her insights into Catholicism. In 1667, at the time of the transmission of Descartes' bones to Paris, she was asked whether Descartes (whose books were then considered by the Index) had rightly belonged to the Catholic faith.³⁵ She answered by saying that Descartes had given her "the first lights" on Cathol-

³¹ Descartes to Christina, 20 Nov 1647, *Ibid.* p. 228.

³² Descartes here relies on setting up an Aristotelian-Stoic "Hexeis", i.e., a self-regulating equilibrium-point of the moral personality. See below note 70.

³³ Descartes to Chanut, 6 June 1647, *Ibid.* p. 224.

³⁴ Ernst Cassirer (1939).

³⁵ Antoine Courtin to Christina asking for a "lettre d'attestation", Copenhagen 3 September 1667, Montpellier, T. VII, ff. 284-285. Christina to Antoine Courtin, Hamburg 30 August 1667, T. VII f. 180. She says of his suggestion that

icism. Ten years later, in 1677, she wrote to the Cartesian oratorian Poisson that she was thankful to Descartes for certain things that made it easier to overcome certain difficulties in the Catholic religion.³⁶ Johan Nordström, however, has pointed out that Christina's statements appear to be over-emphasized, *ex post facto* recollections. At the time of her conversion, Christina had been influenced by Jesuits, who in their written reports on their meetings in 1652 with the Queen, emphasize the sheer weight of Catholic tradition. In addition, her correspondence in 1650 with Claude Saumaise commenting on Descartes' death shows that they both believed there was nothing new in Cartesian philosophy. Saumaise claimed that Descartes only invents what others already hope for. If her claim is true it is striking that her pronouncements during the time of the abdication and her 1655 open letter to Chanut show little indication of Descartes' intellectual presence. Nordström instead suggests that Christina had confided to Chanut that an almost fatal fever in 1648 had made her give a vow to become Catholic.³⁷

Cassirer's argument is that Christina turned to Catholicism, not because of direct contact with its rational deduction or with Catholic dogmatics, but through Descartes' methodological influence. Christina's searching attitude was confirmed and extended by the contact with Descartes' rationalism, his emphasis on sceptical self-enlightening, and through the form of his method. Cassirer brings out three points: the dispassionate character of Christina's conversion, Descartes's method of doubt, and his criterion of truth as unity.

Cassirer's first point is that Christina's conversion was entirely void of feeling and intensity of belief. Cartesian metaphysics builds on the clarity of the idea of God as a perfect being and stands in contrast to attempts to ground the Christian faith on grace and

Descartes inspired her: "Vous y trouverez le secret qui auroit été ignoré de tout le monde, si vous ne m'aviez donné occasion de le publier; car je le crois si glorieux à notre Philosophe, que je n'ai pas voulu le taire" Arckenholtz (1751). Vol. IV, p. 29.

³⁶ Christina to Father Poisson 1677, Montpellier T. IX.

³⁷ Johan Nordström (1940) p. 256, also argues that Cassirer has failed to produce any substantial reason for Christina's attitude having changed to Naturalism in 1647 or 1648, instead pointing to the circumstance of her almost fatal fever in 1648 when she had become happy on hearing of the Catholic view of virginity, quoted in Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. III, p. 209. However, in the same year Christina writes a letter to her mother Marie Eleonore saying that she believes everybody can be saved whether Christian or Gentile. The change may have taken place for other reasons altogether, not at all related to Descartes' rationalism. See below Ch. IX.

revelation. Cassirer sees Christina as more an intellectual than a religious searcher. For her, logical deduction took the place of mystical longing.³⁸ The conversion of Pascal that simultaneously took place in 1654 shows a totally different dimension of anxiety, helplessness, and final giving over to God. The fiery passion in which Pascal burnt, was transformed and renewed, is not found in Christina's case; for there is only a permanent, for ever valid Cartesian light of reason. Only in the late Quietist period in Rome can one find in Christina's maxims a Pascalian abdication of reason and a fideistic leap of faith: "One must sacrifice everything to God. One must make him a total holocauste of oneself."³⁹

Cassirer thinks that Christina's early doubts about Lutheran dogma on the last Judgment and God's providential design tended to a naturalist position that abandoned the traditional symbols and church rituals. These doubts were strengthened by irreligious argumentation until Christina learned to apply Cartesian principles to her inner discussions. And certainly one of Christina's maxims is an application of Descartes' first entry of his *Principles*: "One can not believe anything, before one has dared to doubt."⁴⁰

The constructive Cartesian claim that only by employing clear and distinct ideas in a unified process of systematic thinking can true ideas be recognized gave Christina, Cassirer claims, a method for reaching her religious decision. The methodical search shows that we need a criterion for truth. Truth is one, not fragmentary. Applied to religion, this means that only one conception of faith can have ultimate authority. Which one ought to be decidable by rational means.⁴¹ Cassirer points out that in line with the tradition of Nicolas of Cusa's *De Pace Fidei*, some rationalists argued that dogma and ritual is not the true kernel of religion, but that it rather is the clarity and depth of the idea of God. For Cusa, the only correct criterion for religiosity is Amor Dei, the love of God.⁴² The founding argument is an essentialist theory of designation whereby much of religion is seen as a mere sign for the unity in the idea of God. In 1650, Christina searched for and later read Jean Bodin's *Heptaplomeres* that sets up a similar problematic for how to reach a Pax Fidei between seven different versions of religion. Cassirer notes that Cusa's formula "signa autem mutationem capiunt, non

³⁸ Ernst Cassirer (1939) pp. 184 ff, 202, 212.

³⁹ Sven Stolpe, *Fran Stocism till Mystik* 1969.

⁴⁰ Ernst Cassirer (1939), p. 185.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 192.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 183–184.

signatum"—the signs undergo change, not what they signify—underlies the rationalist position.⁴³ Cassirer mentions an example of Catholic employment of this idea in Bishop Bossuet's *Histoire des variations des Eglises Protestantes* (1688). Against the division of the Protestant sects and through extensive historiographical documentation Bossuet shows that Catholicism represents the only unbroken unified tradition stemming from the early apostles. Christina did not read this book until her last year in Rome, but the style of argument did, of course, exist long before.⁴⁴

In a careful polemic, Nordström rejected Cassirer's idea that Descartes' method could have determined Christina's search for a satisfactory religion. When Catholicism argues that only it can be truly universal, it primarily uses the traditional fact of the unbroken authority of the Church through time. Bossuet uses a standard Catholic argument based on events in historical time that have little to do with Cartesianism. Nordström instead relies on the four Jesuit reports that refer to Christina's acceptance of the antiquity, the stability, and the uniformity of Catholic dogmatics in contrast to the self-professed, extraordinary calling of the Protestant reformers, whose views often are mutually exclusive.⁴⁵

Nordström's rejection of Cassirer's claims for Descartes's influence depends on the difficulty of extending a criterion on deductive certainty to a religious and historical debate. When Descartes contemplates our intuitive grasp of mathematical truth he focuses on the criterion given by the light of reason—it is methodically sanctioned as it is the only distinct sign of immediate certainty. But the transfer of this criterion to Catholic polemic is no easy matter. Would Descartes have tried to make the extension to the religious debate (perhaps by saying what a Jesuit could have said, that the light of reason is Christ) without making clear that it is based on analogies? Furthermore, I believe that Nordström is wrong in accepting the Jesuits' arguments as the grounds for Christina's conversion. The simple fideistic leap that the Jesuits describe conflicts with records showing Christina as an irreligious sceptic. Rather than seeking a Cartesian sense of unity behind the conversion, one can accept the Jesuit Casati's report that the origin of Christina's acceptance of Catholic tradition stems from Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*. From Cicero's description of the varieties of religion she quoted that "though it is possible that they are all of them false,

⁴³ *Ibid.* pp. 188–191.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 198.

⁴⁵ Casati's report in Leopold von Ranke (1906), appendix 131.

it is impossible that more than one of them is true.”⁴⁶ Contrary to Nordström, but with those scholars that have focused on Christina’s libertine period, I doubt the further claims of the Jesuit reports. To a critical eye, they give a tendentious rendering of what Christina may have inferred from Cicero’s irreligious work. (For instance, how did she receive the speech of the Stoic Balbus, book II, 29ff, where nature is described as a material spirit, a living intelligence). There were rationalist versions of Protestantism, Judaism, and Naturalism which were familiar to Christina from her reading of Bodin’s *Heptaplomeres* and from contacts with Protestant church reformers and church unionists such as Amos Comenius and John Dury. They argued for religion as a rational standpoint when purified to fit a generalized pacification among churches, utilizing the hope of a coming messianic transformation, but without a Catholic emphasis on the mysteries and without an appeal to tradition and authority.

Cassirer’s view of the role of the *Heptaplomeres* requires some further reflection. I believe there are two problems here. First, can Descartes’s conception of God be set in the same tradition as Jean Bodin’s? Each may be related to Cusa’s doctrine of Amor Dei, but it may still not be true that they ought to be related to one another. The *Heptaplomeres* describes in great detail the varied forms of cult and ritual, it describes witchcraft and magic, demonic possession and devotional prayers, the horrors of persecution and the need for tolerance. Is it not distinctive of Cartesianism to be disinterested in such descriptions?

Second, what did Christina think of Bodin’s book, did she read it because of a “Cartesian” reason? We know that in 1652 Christina read the first book of the *Heptaplomeres*. The first book deals with Necromancy and Egyptian deathcults. Christina read it and said that she did not find it as exciting as she thought it would be. She first obtained a full copy in 1656.⁴⁷ Christina probably saw it as a source on ancient religion, she may have liked the details on the various renderings of the soul and its descriptions of the varieties of ritual. The mss. codex in Christina’s Vatican collection ends with book five, so it is not clear that she ever read the seventh book in which Bodin reaches his universalist vision of religious harmony. She must, however, have learned of its claim that all religions draw on the same truths from discussions with her various scholar friends. She did say that it does not matter whether one follows the

⁴⁶ Cicero *De Natura Deorum* I: 16, quoted in Casati’s report.

⁴⁷ Chapter III of this book, n. 17.

practices of this or that religion, as long as one does nothing contrary to reason. But when Bodin's dialogue focuses on the right of coexistence for different confessions, Descartes' rationalism regards them with indifference. These circumstances show that if there was a tradition that influenced Christina in arguing for the unity of God and superfluity of ritual, little has been gained in calling it Cartesian.

Christina's intellectualism also leads Sven Stolpe to conjecture that her conversion was a rational deduction in line with Descartes' proof for the existence of God.⁴⁸ Stolpe does not specify which proof, but he must be referring to the proof in Descartes' third *Meditations*, to the geometrical exposition of his premises appended to the answer to Mersenne, and to the systematic presentation in the *Principles*. As is familiar, Descartes here develops his idea that the existence of God is necessary to extend our knowledge beyond the immediate assurance of our existence. In his proof of God he argues that we have an idea of an unlimited being that we cannot fully comprehend, but that must have as its cause a perfect being. The main novelty of his proof is his attempt to show that the idea of God is not merely a fiction in the mind by arguing that the subjective understanding of the causal connection can be turned into an assurance of the real existence of the cause.⁴⁹ He thinks it is clear that God as the most perfect being lacks limitations and is, in essence, necessary existence.⁵⁰

To assure himself that this inference is indubitable, he returns to the intuition of the truth in clear and distinct ideas: The clarity in his conception of God as a sustainer of the order of ideas is the foundation of his reliance on clear and distinct intuition—it gives him the epistemological certainty he was searching for.⁵¹ He now thinks that he knows that his subjective assurance also has objective validity. Unable to doubt his own existence, Descartes' overcomes his sceptical crisis. It is quite unclear, however, whether Christina's doubts ever had this character. She is reported to have doubted the story on the origin of the world, providence, the judgement, the incarnation, the sources of and even the difference between good and evil and the necessity of fearing God.⁵² In these areas, Descartes' proof does not give any guidance. In theology,

⁴⁸ Sven Stolpe, (1959).

⁴⁹ The causal principle stated in *Principles XVII*, the third *Meditation*, A/T VII: 32 ff.

⁵⁰ The third *Meditation*, A/T VII: 40 ff.

⁵¹ *Principles XV*, the fifth *Meditation*, A/T VII: 55.

⁵² Chapter III of this book, n. 8–16.

Descartes was a fideist, relying on faith where we lack clear ideas. If Descartes did not try to conceal his real views, he was essentially satisfied with a double standard of truth about the world and religion—for him scientific clarity and system was not in conflict with a fideistic view of Christianity. He even tried to show why:

To the structure of the supremely perfect being belongs the idea of an actual infinity. As a limited being, I cannot comprehend infinity, only that God's perfections are unlimited. There are thus things I can conceive, but cannot comprehend. My will ranges more widely than my understanding, and I thus fall in error. I have the freedom to abstain from believing what is not entirely clear and certain. But God's will and understanding are united, he establishes all laws by his fiat. Thus I must submit to God's authority and accept his revelations in religion where I have no clear and distinct ideas.⁵³

This last subjection to faith is a calculated gamble in face of the fact that no scientific knowledge can exist for the realm of revelation. What is true of Pascal thus also seems to have satisfied Descartes. Revealed religion must fill in the gap between man and God. Descartes affirms that there are things we believe although we do not clearly understand them, among them are the mysteries of the Church: e.g., the Trinity (a thing can be both one and many at the same time), the Eucharist (a thing can be in more than one place at the same time), Transubstantiation (two things can differ in substance although their attributes are the same).⁵⁴ From a reading of his explicit statements on the relation between science and religion, one can draw the conclusion that Descartes holds the view that God's in all His goodness creates a structured and moral world. One can also conclude from Descartes' few remarks on social and political relations that he is assured that on analogy with God's kingdom, power is held by sovereigns over their subjects in

⁵³ *Principles* VI, XXXVI-XLII, The fourth *Meditation* A/T VII: 46 ff. for God's unlimited power and dominion as contrasted to the limited capacities of human volition. See below n. 70.

⁵⁴ In his reply to Arnauld, A/T III: 387, and in his letter to Father Mesland, A/T IV: 163, Descartes tries to give a mechanistic explanation of the transformations in the Eucharist, thus trying rationally to save the dogma by showing that while there is no apparent change on the surface qualities of the bread there might be a change in its substance. The tone of their correspondence is however altogether different from a work such as that of the libertine poet J. C. de Marigny (1615–1673), who wrote a famous mockery of the Eucharist entitled *Le Pain Benit*. It was published only after his death. Marigny was in Stockholm in 1651 Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. I, p. 256. He was a leading figure in the rebellion at Bordeaux in 1652–53 and as an associate to the Prince of Condé, Marigny wrote a defamatory letter on Christina's travel to Rome, see Appendix II of this book.

order to prevent people from doing evil to one another. Acceptance of the Catholic faith thus had a definite place in Descartes' doctrine.

Stolpe argues that the example of Descartes, a rationalist who interprets religion fideistically, showed Christina how to be Christian in spite of her scepticism—reason must simply abdicate. I take it that Stolpe means the insight that the mysteries are separable from the conflicts in natural physics, that they are to be accepted on faith, but that they are not part of what is knowable. Christina did write a few maxims that underpin this fideist interpretations of her views, such as “Nothing comes from nothing” and “God must have been a Tyrant to plant in us the religious need, but in reality deny its satisfaction.”⁵⁵ Yet, as the Jesuit context of her conversion shows, Christina’s critical interest was the moral aspect of religion and in the question of how the creationist story of Genesis can be rationally saved in accord with a consistent practise. She was worried about dogma, about providential history, about the forms of religious practice, but never about the notion of God itself. A mere assertion of the truth of the mysteries coupled with a rational proof of God does not address the nature of her worries. The Jesuit instruction probably intensified her view of the central position of the mysteries in Christianity, only to further entrench the gravity of her insight that the story of creation is not compatible with the new science.

The Search after Truth

To strengthen his Cartesian case, Cassirer claims that Descartes’ unfinished dialogue *The Search after Truth by the Light of Nature* was written as a pedagogical text for instructing Christina in his philosophy. It thus would correspond to the mention of a set of “certain petits mémoires secrets” that Descartes, according to his biographer Baillet, showed the Queen “to teach her to live happily before God and before men.”⁵⁶ Cassirer’s identification of this text with the dialogue relies on the dialogue’s fixation of attention to a small number of principles, its argument for the superfluity of learned readings, and the fact that its critique of scholastic argumentation-

⁵⁵ Quoted in Ernst Cassirer (1939), p. 202.

⁵⁶ Adrien Baillet *La Vie de Mr. Des-Cartes* 2 vols. 1691. Vol. II, p. 432. See Ernst Cassirer (1939) and his “Descartes’ Dialog ‘Recherche de la Vérité par la Lumière Naturelle’ und seine Stellung in Ganzen der Cartesischen Philosophie. Ein Interpretations Versuch” *Lychnos* 1938, pp. 139–179.—“Über Bedeutung und Auffassungszeit von Descartes’ Dialog ‘Recherche de La Vérité par la Lumière Naturelle’” *Theoria* 4 1938 pp. 193–234.

forms matches Descartes' contempt for the Queen's interest in Greek manuscripts and history. Cassirer thinks that the dialogue's frequent mention of the virtues of the "honnête homme" displays a courtly tone and that its form would suit the Queen's dramatic fervour. Unlike other interpreters, such as Richard Popkin who thinks the dialogue is an early statement whose main interest lies in its emphasis on sceptical arguments, Cassirer focuses on the idea that Descartes had an interest in popularizing his opinions also for a courtly audience.⁵⁷ If the *Search* was shown to Christina she would have seen Descartes' principled opposition to her linguistic studies. It thus could be a cause of Christina's abandonment of an interest that I discuss below, namely theological linguistics—if she ever did abandon it. But while we know Christina expressed doubts about providential history, the data do not confirm that she ever abandoned her pursuit of statements about the future state in favour of a timeless Cartesian assurance indifferent to political, astronomical, or even astrological events. As Christina clearly was capable of reading Descartes' more extensive works and as she did so even before his arrival in Stockholm, there seems to have been little need for a simplifying pedagogical device.

Thus, even if Cassirer's identification of the "certain petits mémoires secrets" that the philosopher showed the young Queen is correct, one can only think that it gave her an easier access to his assertions on the light of reason, but it hardly would have refined her knowledge of Descartes' views. But can there not be a more probable counterproposal to Cassirer's claim? We know that along with the dialogue, one of the items in the collection of papers left in Stockholm was the scribblebook entitled *1619 Kalendiis Januarii* containing notes and entries from Descartes' early years in Germany in the Habsburg army of Maximilian of Bayern. At that time Descartes lived through a personal crisis that led him to philosophize on a first vision of a new mathematized science. The notebook, also called his "petit registre", records the germs of the reflections that later would grow into Descartes' mature philosophy and could well be the record of personal insights referred to as the "petits memoirs". Apparently Descartes brought these notes along in order to remind himself of his early crisis and the difficulty of choosing the right philosophical path.⁵⁸ In the *Olympica*, he kept

⁵⁷ See also Henri Gouhier, "Sur la Date de 'la Recherche de la Vérité' de Descartes" *Revue d'histoire de la Philosophie* Paris 1929.

⁵⁸ Adam/Tannery Vol. X: 217 ff. selected English transl. in John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff, Dugald Murdoch, *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*. 2 vols. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1985. Vol. I, pp. 2–5. For a detailed

mathematical notes and records of his memories of three consecutive dreams on a winter night of 1619, foreshadowing his resolve to chose the path of philosophy at that critical point of his youth. Here he had recorded the frightening dream in which he was propelled towards the church by an evil spirit. In the course of this flight he had repeatedly been turned around, until finally a thunderclap has signaled the descent of the spirit of truth on him. Wide awake, his eyes had filled with scintillating sparks and he felt urged to pursue his project of truth. These early insights of terror, doubt, and indecision finally overturned by enthusiasm perhaps could have also resolved the problems of the young Queen, who at a comparable age some thirty years later searched for a path in life to fit her inner sentiments. I do not claim to have proven that the notebook of 1619 was the "petits memoires secret" Baillet refers to, but at least it is a plausible candidate given the nature of their meetings. Is it not likely that Christina would have asked Descartes about his role in the early Thirty Years War that so much affected her role as Swedish Sovereign? The scribblebook shows that alongside his ontological proof, Descartes' God had a personal and psychological origin. He says things that may well be Augustinian: "There is a single active power in things, love, charity, harmony." Also that God has made three marvels: "Something out of Nothing, Free Will, and God in man."⁵⁹ If Descartes was setting a Catholic example, the scribbling of his notebook could have been used to show how he had passed from the traditional imagery of Divinity to his own abstract conception.⁶⁰ If Descartes' notion of God was something more than a blank page of theology, he would have described the genesis of his mature ideas from those described in his notebooks. At least, in making plausible Descartes' role as Catholic instructor it is for such a hypothetical description one must search.⁶¹

The Two Characters

Even if the original idea that the conversion can in some way be rooted in Cartesian epistemology is improbable, it is still interest-

study see Henri Gouhier, *Les Premiers Pensées de Descartes—contribution a l'histoire de l'anti-renaissance*. Vrin, Paris 1979.

⁵⁹ Cottingham/Stoothoff/Murdoch (1985) p. 5. Adam/Tannery X: 218.

⁶⁰ For an analysis of the *Olympica* dreams see Gregor Sebba, *The Dream of Descartes*. ed. Richard A Watson, 1987.

⁶¹ The *Olympica* also records Descartes' acquaintance with the Rosicrucian theme, Cottingham/Stoothoff/Murdoch (1985) p. 2. Adam/Tannery X: 219. On

ing to see what kind of moral and psychological effect the meeting with the philosopher could have had. Ernst Cassirer tries to approach this problem by describing the psychological types of the two and to confront the life of Christina as we know it with Descartes' ethical principles. Cassirer argues that while Descartes preferred a creative isolation wherein a unity between life and principles could develop, the tragic fate of Christina was that she was not able to bring will and action into harmony. Her public and private life had to be one, but she could never find a balance between outer luxury and glory, and her inner determination to Stoic freedom.⁶²

It was not so much the philosophical or religious insights that ruled her life, but political considerations over which she struggled to take command. Her so called "nomadic drifting around Europe" stands in sharp contrast to Descartes' ideal of seclusion expressed in his words "he lives well, who lives hidden".⁶³ For Descartes, not only must thought be protected from falling apart into a multitude of independent judgments, but also life itself must not be ruled by the experience and conclusions of the moment. Christina never was able to eliminate this tension between principled thinking and active life. Christina's life therefore symbolically represents an inner tragic drama.

Cassirer's contrast rests on an image of two opposing characters that can be further emphasized. To Descartes' character belongs the firm resolve to develop his reason and knowledge in science. A provisional ethic directed to the end of achievement in science is his proposal for living well while his new worldview is being formed. A conservative social and conventional ethic guarantees a firm attitude, by which one should adhere to the world order and accept one's fortune.⁶⁴ Moral certainty is in fact provided by any conventional morality that sets the conditions for working out a life of self-command in the service of scientific research. Similarly, Descartes' methodological scepticism is a means to clear the ground for

the mathematical importance of the comet of 1618, see Luder Gäbe, *Descartes' Selbstkritik. Untersuchungen zur Philosophie des jungen Descartes*. Hamburg 1972. See below chapter IX on Christina and the comets.

⁶² Ernst Cassirer (1939), p. 196.

⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 196 f. Carl Bildt (1899): "As a living enigma she roamed about Europe. With no apparent plans, she at times wandered from one country to another, without even providing room for guesses concerning the reasons for her actions; leaving behind nothing except memories of an eccentric and mysterious personality."

⁶⁴ For a discussion of Descartes' moral psychology, see the long introduction of John J. Blom (1978).

a new edifice of scientific ideas. After his resolve he never radically questioned the necessity of God as the foundation for a reasonable worldview.⁶⁵

Cassirer's view of Queen Christina as essentially a tragic figure builds in part on the common mistake of extending her early neurosis to encompass her entire attitude. During her lifetime, Christina was already a topic for conversation and anecdotal biography. The Stoic virtues that she as monarch was thought to embody inspired commentators to give the ex-Queen an aura of irresponsibility when she abdicated. She had failed her duties towards her family, country, and office. As with regicide and usurpation, she even set up the preordained pattern of Fate. Cassirer's focused on the contemporary neo-Stoic context when he conceived of Cartesian control in a pedagogical session between Descartes and the Queen. I believe, however, that his contribution better explains the many disapproving comments in the correspondence of Christina's contemporaries. By abandoning her monarchial role she exposed herself as an irresponsible and volatile soul. Accordingly, her character as given by the myth involves a personality of indecision, existential anxiety, a melancholy and neurotic temper, religious wavering, and provoking behaviour.⁶⁶ The myth presents her as a bizarre neurotic, whose tragic life was a repetitious fleeing away from responsibility under the influence of distorted and ill understood passion—the Baroque Queen who mysteriously lived a life “mouvementée et scabreuse”.⁶⁷

Descartes was preoccupied at the end of his life with finding and describing a psychology that shows how to control the passions. Such a medical science had great practical value. It showed how the force and vigour of our passions can fix our train of thought and dispose the body to a course of action. Through character-planning, consciousness about desirable ends in life, and knowl-

⁶⁵ His followers deduced the rational conclusion of this situation in claiming that reason is distinct from the realm of faith and further that the realm of faith can be disregarded for all practical scientific purposes. A few interpreters such as Maxime Leroy, *Le Philosophe au Masque*. Rieder, Paris 1929 argue that Descartes was conscious of the anti-Catholic implications of his philosophy. The philosopher was after all very troubled by the condemnation of Galileo and was careful to stay away from provoking the French authorities, while he lived most of his life in Calvinist Holland.

⁶⁶ With particular fervour Leopold von Ranke, Carl Bildt, and Ernst Cassirer, have fastened on this scenario of a displaced woman. See below Chapter XVII.

⁶⁷ Examples from this genre multiply in the French speaking realm, with titles ranging from “La Reine Chaste et Folle” to “La Reine Mouvementée et Scabreuse” and “Christine—Le Roi Mysterieuse”.

edge of our physical limitations each person can optimize his or her possibilities. In his correspondence with Princess Elisabeth, Descartes affirms that reason armed with strategies of correct reasoning and virtue can prevent the passions from disturbing the psyche.⁶⁸ The perturbations of the soul are not seen as something evil per se, but rather as natural consequences of our psychophysiology. Still, they have to be controlled in order for us to live the good life. The theoretical foundation for this view is found in his mechanistic exposition *The Passions of the Soul*. The psychophysical explanations make clear the conditions that bear on whether a person can realize and execute virtue. Melancholy, hesitancy, disorder, and indecision about desirable ends all lead to the debilitating influence of the Passions. Descartes' Stoic conception of virtue, the highest good, blessedness, and fortune, all point to the calm and consolation that can be experienced when these disorders are understood and overcome.⁶⁹

Cassirer's idea is that the underlying personality structures of the two differ in principle. They formed their decisions on different perceptions:

I. Descartes argues in his *Discourse on Method* that a traveller lost in a forest will get more quickly out by any arbitrarily chosen straight line.⁷⁰ Constancy and firmness lead to success. Hesitancy about ends or continuous reevaluation requires so much time and energy that one gets nothing done. There are two methods for bringing a troubled soul into harmony: either by changing one's desires to change one's passions, or by changing one's situation to change one's desires.⁷¹ Descartes' Stoic method of self-control by self-regulation is to change one's desires when one cannot change the world.

II. Christina's *Maxims*, for instance her thought "The real skill is not to control your emotions, but rather to be able to make them emerge as if by chance", show that as an exalted Sovereign, she knew she could control her environment by becoming unpredictable.⁷² She also later learned that she could control herself by making her environment unpredictable. But for her, as such a forceful Queen, there was no place to stop; no direction seemed

⁶⁸ See Descartes to Elisabeth, 6 October 1645.

⁶⁹ *Discourse on the Method*. Leiden 1637, Part Three. Adam/Tannery VII:22.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* A/T VII: 23–27. On Descartes' provisional ethic compare John Elster, *Ulysses and the Sirens—Studies in Rationality and Irrationality*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1979. pp. 54–65.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 57.

⁷² Maxim no. 169, Sven Stolpe ed. (1959).

satisfactory. She had to seek satisfaction in what appeared to be a life of nomadic restlessness to survive change resulting from her act of abdication.

The ethical and psychological surety on which Descartes formed his life is here set against the tragic aspect of Christina's character. But one must ask if it really is likely that the sporadic encounters between Descartes and the Queen, or even Christina's reading of his *Passions* (a book that she did not admire) was sufficient to make Christina realize and change her dispositions? Or that Cartesian behavioral therapy was a sufficient prelude to her Catholicism? Although Cassirer seems to presuppose that this was possible, he is not so much interested in the beliefs, desires, or actions that actually took place. It is rather their symbolic meanings to which he appeals in an attempt to understand the epoch in which they were performed. Neo-Stoic ethics dominated the cultural outlook of the first half of the seventeenth century and neo-Stoic rhetoric was readily available to the Queen in Johan Gerdes' German translation *Des Kebes recht güldene Tafel und Epictetus ädeles Handbuchlein* (Stockholm 1649). The turbulent external conditions required a stoical return to inner peace. An open engagement with the world involved risks that could turn life rapidly into tragedy.

Yet, I believe that it is possible to show that instead of being a tragic figure from a drama of Corneille, it is more probable that Christina was a political cynic who changed her faith on a realistic judgment of the possibilities for getting support from Catholic Spain.⁷³ Descartes' Stoic independence—the self determined thought and will that he set up as an ideal for his life—stands in no contrast to Christina's character. Rather than being instant reactions, her actions were often skillfully planned acts in order to assert her position and not least to create a new role in exile. The contrast between Descartes and Christina lies not in their will to and power of self determination, but in the conditions for attaining their life choices and ends. As in the meeting between Alexander the Great and Diogenes the Cynic, their difference lies not in their varied scopes of vision, but in their different degrees of political involvement with the world. The attribution to Christina of nomadic restlessness, bizarre actions done on the spur of the moment, or a perpetually unhappy personality belongs to the Mythos of her life. However erroneous, the myth of her life has had prodigious off-

⁷³ Sven Stolpe, in commenting on Cassirer (1939), added a dimension to the theatrical characterology by noting that Christina's life parallels the development from Corneille's Stoic Drama to Racine's Christian *Mysteries*.

spring. There is an endless series of novels, plays, films, and in this last year also a modern opera, that uses her life to make statements on exiled souls in search for something permanent to believe in. The myth of Christina as abdicating Prince has its own interesting structure and one can study the history of its formation, and its cultural influence.

I conclude that while Descartes through his rational example can have given Christina an assurance of where the problem in religion lies, I do not think that it was sufficient to resolve her perception of this problem. While attempts have been made to make the historical case for Christina as Cartesian, Catholic, neo-Stoic, sceptic, and libertine it is conspicuous that each falls short of accounting for the range of her opinions.

One possible way of accounting for this diversity of interpretations is to reconcile them from a syncretic standpoint, close to Naturalism. In Rome, during her last years, Christina wrote: "This world is a grand and magnificent temple, and the earth which we inhabit is its superb altar. God drew this beautiful and grand machine out of nothing for the sake of his glory, and yet he wants everything to return therein."⁷⁴

It is only by imposition that one can regard the philosophical elements in her standpoint as anything else than a heterogenous collection. The relevance of Cassirer's main argument, that the Cartesian conception of truth as unity, was the genesis of Christina's conversion, is thus very weak. But I believe that by pointing to Cusa's doctrine, Cassirer makes clear that there is a philosophical structure underlying the most vivid and radical solution to the confessional debate of the period. Without being Cartesian, Christina may have resolved her crisis with a universalist turn to an undogmatic Naturalist position. Signs of such a natural Deism with a belief in an ethical universe codified in a basic and simplified moral law emerge with Christina's libertine period, but then she had been influenced by Calvinist scholars like Isaac Vossius and Claude Saumaise. Her plan for a study center of theological linguistics at Dorpat 1649, shortly before Descartes' arrival and her invitation to Pierre Gassendi in 1652 show that Descartes was just an item in her intellectual world.

⁷⁴ Maxim no. 497 in Sven Stolpe ed. (1959).

PART II
CHRISTINA'S PHILOSOPHY

CHAPTER FOUR

GASSENDI, ATOMS AND THE WORLD SOUL OF EPICUREANS

It may come as a surprise that Queen Christina, the famous convert to Catholicism, in 1656 while travelling through Dijon to Paris, had a single answer to the question what her religion really was. To three scholars, Christina said that her religion was that of the philosophers. “This philosophy is indeterminate, and its limits are uncertain, but it is best represented in Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura*.¹ René Pintard takes her assertion as the basis of his description of Christina as an intellectual libertine. Her reference to Lucretius was not a mere provocation. Her claim in Dijon was only a spark from the deeply ramified structure of philosophical thought Christina had resolved to adopt to solve her sceptical crisis.

In 1650, only five days after Descartes’ death, Christina commissioned Vossius to obtain Pierre Gassendi’s newly published work on Epicurus, *Anidmaversiones in decimum librum Diogenus Laertii*. She had by then read Gassendi’s 1647 work on the life and death of Epicurus.² Gassendi’s *Animadversiones* is a meticulous edition containing a commentary on the life of Epicurus who previously had been classified mostly according to the derogatory descriptions of the classical Stoic texts.³ Gassendi shows at length how Epicurus’ doctrines on natural philosophy can be assimilated to Christianity and he also praises the moral virtue of Epicurean felicity.⁴ Gassendi defends Epicurus from accusations of impiety and contempt for the Divine and argues that with some modifications there is no contradiction between the Epicurean world and Christianity. He blamed the disgrace into which the doctrine of a sensual understanding of nature had fallen on the decadence of Aristippos and the Cyrenaics. The pagan atomists had seen the universe as an infinite flow of atoms that through eternal time compose and decompose in naturally ordered but ultimately random sequences. With the atomists, Fate was not strictly determined as with the Stoics nor could the world evolve in time. Gassendi argued that if

¹ Relation of Claude-Barthelemy Morisot, René Pintard, *Le Libertinage Erudit* 1943. p. 399, p. 638 n. 399: 4. Also in F. U. Wrangel, *Drottning Kristinas resa från Rom till Franska hovet* 1923.

² René Pintard (1943), p. 393.

³ Howard Jones, *Pierre Gassendi 1592–1655—An Intellectual Biography* 1981.

⁴ J. S. Spink *French Free-Thought from Gassendi to Voltaire* 1960. esp. pp. 85–132.

the number of atoms in the universe is not infinite but is limited, an infinite God can project onto the world his Providence and control the ordering of atoms. Gassendi's elaborate and sometimes highly condensed argumentation is not easy to follow, but appended to the 1649 edition of *Animadversiones* is Gassendi's shorter compendium *Philosophiae Epicuri Syntagma* which Christina could easily read to grasp the revised system. Bourdelot was instructed to try to persuade the philosopher to come to Stockholm. After a series of detailed letters from the philosopher and short answers from the Queen, Gassendi chose to stay on the continent. Their exchange ended with Christina's assertion from Brussels 1654 that in spite of the controversy over her abdication, she unyieldingly follows Gassendi's (moral) principles. Epicurean felicity was achieved by a calm dwelling in the Garden of the Arts.⁵

In 1650, Christina had read Lucretius' poem on atomism in the new edition by Michel de Marolles. He dedicated his version to the Swedish Queen and in the preface he asks rhetorically why atomism is so despised. Marolles claims that Lucretius' sole aim was to refute Pythagoras' metempsychotic view of the soul, and that he was only right to mock the religion of the great Pan and the Egyptian animals. Marolles finds it worthy to prove by nature that which we believe from revelation. In any case, Lucretius' doctrine only discusses the material soul found in all animals and does not touch the status of the intellectual soul.⁶

In 1652, Gassendi's student Jean Chapelain contemplated traveling to Stockholm and in correspondence with Heinsius he continued to take an interest in the Queen's abdication plans and outlook. In 1654, Chapelain was informed that the Queen "is convinced that souls are no more immortal than the body, an opinion that they say she makes no attempt to hide."⁷ Although they were perplexed by the Queen's curious decision to abdicate, they agreed that "constancy is one of her virtues", which suggests

⁵ Gassendi to Christina 8 July 1652, 5 Dec 1652, also Naudé to Gassendi 19 Oct 1652, and Gassendi to Christina 22 Aug 1654, 13 Feb 1655, reprinted in Arckenholz (1751) Vol. II Appendices.

⁶ Michel de Marolles, *Le Poète Lucrete*. Paris 1650. In the preface Marolles also points to the recent work of Kenelm Digby and to the yet unpublished one by Gilles de Launay. Isaac Herault sent it to the Queen and promised to send her works and manuscripts from England. Herault to Isaac Vossius, Paris 3 Oct and 15 Nov, 1650. Amsterdam UB, III Eq. 20, 23, 25, copies in Nordström, box 11. Uppsala UB.

⁷ Jean Chapelain, *Soixante-dix-sept lettres* 1966. Jean Chapelain to Nicolas Heinsius 10 Nov 1654, *Ibid.* no. XLII.

that Christina's moral will conformed to the ideal of pagan Stoicism.⁸ Neo-Stoicism was an accepted Christianized ethic that matched the martial ideals of the early modern form of statemanship. That a monarch, and especially this Queen, embodied all the Stoic virtues of justice, temperance, and prudence was a standard assumption of Baroque political imagery. Before the allegorical praise around Christina had settled for "Minerva", one conventionally attributed to her the role of "Pandora", a female form for all-encompassing virtue. Her abdication challenged the attribution of constancy to her, as the classical notion of impiety denoted not only dishonour of the Divine, but also disloyalty to one's country, one's family, and one's office. The neo-Stoic mythology surrounding monarchs thus forced judgements of the abdication as either an act of irresponsibility or a sacrifice.

Chanut's frequently alludes to Christina's Stoicism, claiming that she was "marvellously strong" on the theme of Stoic virtue. He emphasized the Queen's acute political judgment formed by her readings in neo-Stoic instruction manuals such as Justus Lipsius' *Politica*, Tacitus, and Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius which were on her study-desk. Note that these readings belong to the general background in statecraft for monarchs assumed in the early modern state. In Sweden, this trend was everywhere. A striking example was in General Wrangel's palace under construction at Skokloster, which had hallway walls covered with Stoic citations. When it is argued (notably by Sven Stolpe) that some form of Stoic apathy was part of her life plan, the evidence for this is the set of heroic ideals she expressed in her *Maxims* and in some of her correspondence. It is a mistake, however, to exclude the possibility that her political neo-Stoicism, expressed by a strong sense of self-determination, was modified by any number of specific ideas on human happiness. The emphasis on Chanut's report about Christina's neo-Stoicism has led Sven Stolpe to regard Christina's 1655 letter from Antwerp to the Queen's mistress Ebba Sparre as flatly out of character. In it she uses an Epicurean sounding motto of talking, playing, and laughing to describe her activities in the theatres and courts of the Flemish city.⁹ An inconsistency such as this shows that the Stoic morality was more a reflective ideal than a

⁸ For the influence of Justus Lipsius on Swedish political culture see Nils Runeby, *Monarchia Mixta* 1962. Gerhard Oestereich, *Neo-Stoicism and the Early Modern State* 1982.

⁹ Christina to Ebba Sparre, Brussels 1655. Arckenholtz (1751). Vol. I, p. 474. Christina also used the motto: "En Mangeant, buvant et chantant." Reprinted and discussed in Sven Stolpe *Fran Stoicism till Mystik* 1959. Appendix 5, pp. 288–292.

practical principle. A scholar like Friedrich Gronovius knew how little this mattered to most Lutherans when, in February 1653, he asked Nicolas Heinsius in Stockholm: "Do you suppose that a sect, cloaked in cultivating the gods of Epicure and the Stoia, will remain unpunished?" There thus is more to be said about Christina's anomalous views, such as atomism, and the extent to which they were compatible with traditional religion than other scholars have thought. While her personal judgment may have had a Stoic cast in the political sphere, in the *Maxims* she also approved of the questioning and mocking attitudes of the Greeks. She wrote that among the philosophers Socrates, Aristippos, and Diogenes appealed to her very much. A criticism of the Stoics also surfaces in another entry of the same edition. Perhaps influenced by Quietism, she claims that the interior calm of which the philosophers boasted is only a dull, insipid state—at most a beautiful illusion.¹⁰

Christina's understanding of atomism derived, however, from sources other than Gassendi's works on a Christianized Epicurus. Her preference for Lucretius' poetic statement of atomism is a sign of the broad reevaluation of the ancient world view under way among thinkers after Gassendi's apologetic Epicurus editions. Another piece of evidence about her involvement with the new atomism is that in 1667 Bourdelot sent Christina a copy of Gilles de Launays newly published *Essais d'un physique universelle* in which he develops an Epicurean physics and also includes an essay on the World Soul.¹¹ With this concept, De Launay, while following the argument that the number of atoms must be finite, deviates from Gassendi. De Launay argues that the Soul of the world is a natural consequence of atomism, yet God cannot be identified with it. It should rather be identified with the universal heat that is diffused throughout everything and which emanates from the Sun, or with the vital energy chemists believe is inherent in all things.

These early academic discussions of Epicureanism did not have the irreverent and atheist edge of some later anonymous tracts that coupled the atomist world view with a political interpretation of religion. But works such as de Launay's were eagerly read by radicals. For example the young Whig John Locke, who in 1675 visited Paris while working on his first philosophical thoughts, owned this and three other of De Launay's books.¹²

¹⁰ Gronovius to Heinsius, February 1653, in Burman, *Sylloge Epistolarum* 1727. Vol. 3. p. 311. Sven Stolpe ed. (1959), maxim no. 44.

¹¹ Bourdelot to Christina 1667, Montpellier. Reprinted and transl. in Sven Stolpe *Drottning Kristinas Brevvaxling* 1967, p. 60.

¹² J. S. Spink (1960), p. 112–113.

It is reasonable to believe that the new atomism was part of a tide of interest in the secrets of the ancients and that it had greater influence on Christina's belief in alchemical transmutations than on any belief in a sensual and levelist radicalism. Her preference for Lucretius was recorded in Dijon 1656 by the poet Claude Barthélemy Morisot, who was instrumental in promoting the magical cult of majesty in France with his alchemical allegory *Peruviana* (1644). Here he described Cuzco-Paris as a city of the sun ruled by the sun Kings Manco-Henry IV and Yllapa-Louis XIII, whose roles were to preside over the gold producing mysterium of the philosopher's stone.¹³ Morisot's interests may have played a role in Christina's revelation. Her reading of atomism was perhaps influenced by the Hermetic tradition, a broad structure of thought whose practical consequences often were iconoclastic. Recent research indicates that Hermetic philosophy played a role in generating sceptical libertinism in the development of Enlightenment Deism.

Christina's libertine period is often viewed as centering only on her political support of unorthodox opinions. Thus it is mentioned that in 1667 she was not allowed to set on stage Moliere's *Tartuffe*, a play banned for its exposition of the hypocrisy of such Paris Catholic purists as those of the "Compagnie de Sainte-Sacrement". In Paris, Christina met with the famed salonieuse Ninon de l'Enclos, a friend of the Epicurean Saint-Evrémond, and petitioned Louis XIV to release Ninon from the nunnery she had been placed in for the previous nine months because of her involvement with libertines.¹⁴ But while episodes such as these show that she was ready to support unconventional causes, they can only intimate the unorthodox consequences of the substance of her views on atomism.

In the early Enlightenment, the atomist explanation of the world fused with vitalist thought in popularized versions of the World Soul which steadily found acceptance among libertine and radical circles. In France, these views were spread in anonymous and spurious tracts alluding to the doctrines of Spinoza—"the atheist Jew". In completely reduced and truncated form, Spinoza's Bible criticism from the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670) and his idea

¹³ Jean-Francois Maillard, "Littérature et Alchimie dans le *Peruviana* de Claude Barthelemy Marisot" *Dix-Septième-Siècle* 1978 pp. 171–184. Morisot was also involved in Christian Cabballism.

¹⁴ On *Tartuffe* see Raoul Allier, *La Cabale des Devots 1627–1666*. 1902. E. Magne, *Ninon de Lenclos*. 1927 p. 146–147. In n. 1. p. 147, Magne considers a letter of Ismael Boilliau that indicates the "Compagnie de Sainte-Sacrement" was responsible for Ninon's arrest.

that mind and material extension are one and the same substance resulted in pamphlets promoting a simple World Soul philosophy that was intended to undercut religious and political authority. This kind of pamphleteering culminated in the anonymous tract first mentioned in 1706 as *Les Trois Imposteurs*—*l'Esprit de Spinoza*, which exposes prophetic religion as a political fraud invented by authorities to control their subjects and which became a main Deist tract of the French Enlightenment.¹⁵ The essential argument of this tract was the statement that Moses invented the Sabbath to make people keep his law. The lives of Jesus and Mohammed were likewise based on political plans. It can be shown that statements like these were disapprovingly discussed by Henry Oldenburg and Adam Boreel in 1656 and as one can see from Christina's own statements they were well known in the scholarly community of her time. The title of a tract that was to expose the three major religions as political inventions had in any case been spoken of since the Sixth Crusade, when Fredric II of Hohenstaufen in defiance of the Pope had established himself King of Sicily and Jerusalem. Thus, in 1238, Pierre de Vigne had written that "the world has been deceived by three impostors." Guillaume Postel continued the French tradition when he mentioned that Moses was a magician and that three legislators were responsible for the religious wars in his diatribe *The Conformity of the Koran with the Lutheran Doctrine* (Paris, 1543). Also, in 1624, Gabriel Naudé (who later became Christina's librarian) in his *Apologie pour les grands personnages soupçonnés de la magie* mentioned Postel's conclusion, and tried to ridicule some recent Rosicrucian pamphlets by comparing them with Postel's Oriental millenarianism. The Latin manuscript *De Tribus Impostoribus* that Adler-Salvius is said to have thrown on the fire was long thought to be fictitious. It has only a loose connection to the French manuscript mentioned above. It is possible that the increased mention of such a work, together with attempts of rich individuals, like Salvius and Queen Christina, to buy it, eventually induced some scholar to write the argument down. It should be clear that the mere mention of the Latin title made the critical

¹⁵ For background see Hugh B. Nisbet, "Spinoza und die Kontroverse De *Tribus Impostoribus*" pp. 227 ff in *Spinoza in der Frühzeit seiner Religiösen Wirkung*, 1984. B. E. Schwartzbach and A. W. Fairbairn, "Sur les rapports entre les éditions du 'Traité des Trois Imposteurs' et la tradition manuscrite de cet ouvrage." *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* 1987, II pp. 111–136. *Traité des Trois Imposteurs*. Amsterdam 1776. This edition reprints a letter by De La Monnoye giving some background to the text including a reference to the *Menagiana* story about Salvius, Bourdelot, Christina, and the lost manuscript.

point. Whether Christina at some point in fact subscribed to some such philosophy, whether her beliefs on spirit and matter had a heterodox edge, or whether she retained a more conservative and neo-Platonic interpretation of the identification of nature and a soul like intelligence, remains a mystery.

Leibniz' view on Christina's doctrine of the World Soul

Some clearer insight into Queen Christina's hidden views is given by another philosopher.¹⁶ In an essay written for Princess Sophie of Prussia called *Reflections on the Doctrine of a Single Universal Spirit* (1702), Leibniz describes the affirmations of recent World Soul philosophers as equivalent to denying the existence of single particular souls:

Some discerning people have believed and still believe today, that there is only one single spirit, which is universal and animates the whole universe in all its parts, each according to its structure and the organs which it finds there . . . this spirit produces the effect of a particular soul in it but that when the organs are corrupted, this particular soul reduces to nothing and returns, so to speak, to the ocean of the universal spirit.¹⁷

Leibniz finds the origin of this idea in the Arabian philosopher Averroes' commentary on Aristotle's doctrine of an eternal active intellect.¹⁸ While the aspects of the human intellect that are active are immaterial and so not corruptible, matter is corruptible and perishes when we die. On Aristotle's theory of pure form, matter is the only individuating criterion. Hence, when matter perishes, the numerical plurality of souls can no longer be comprehended. The active intellect on the other hand can partake of universal forms that are impossible to imagine, such as the notion of an actual infinity. Hence, the active intellect itself also must be indestructible and eternal. But pure form cannot exist without matter, thus if there is an individuated immortality it must be part of a subtle indestructible matter, perhaps an animal warmth that emanates from the heavenly bodies. Averroes concludes that there is no individual immortality apart from this latter possibility. Italian thinkers, like Pomponazzi and Contarini, claimed that Averroes'

¹⁶ Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Reflections on the Doctrine of a Single Universal Spirit* (1702), L. Loemker transl. 1970, pp. 554–560. In French in C. I. Gerhardt, *Die Philosophische schriften* 1965. vol. VI pp. 529–538.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 554.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 554.

doctrine was true according to philosophy, but false according to faith—a standpoint condemned by the Lateran council.¹⁹ Leibniz continues with a short gallery of believers in the single universal spirit and provides truly interesting information for Christina's biography:

I have been told that Queen Christina held a strong inclination towards this opinion, and since Mr. Naudé, her librarian, was saturated with it, it would seem that he gave her information about these secret opinions of famous philosophers, with whom he had discourse in Italy. Spinoza, who recognized only one single substance, is not far from the doctrine of a single universal spirit, and even the Neo-Cartesians, who hold that only God acts, affirm it, seemingly unawares.²⁰

The Cartesian occasionalists argue that God alone is capable of acting and that he moves the minds of particular beings.²¹ Leibniz further claims that the practical consequence of the view was drawn by Quietists:

It would also seem that Molinos and certain other modern quietists . . . shared this opinion of a Sabbath or a repose of souls in God. It is for this reason that they believed that the cessation of particular activities is the highest state of perfection.²²

Naudé, Spinoza, and Molinos. A modern reader might think that Leibniz is blurring fundamental conceptual distinctions in their doctrines. But when Leibniz wrote, he was exclusively concerned with the status of the individual soul and he could find little relevant difference in various views that the world is composed of only one active substance.

Leibniz respects the doctrine because in his opinion it honours the divine, whether or not the universal spirit is identified with God or was, as the Kabbalists say, created by God.

The latter is also the opinion of the Englishman Henry More and other newer philosophers, particularly of certain chemists who believe that there is a universal *Archeus* or world-soul; some of them have maintained that this is the spirit of the Lord moving over the waters, of which the beginning of Genesis speaks.²³

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 554.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 554.

²¹ In order to save the doctrine of a real distinction between Mind and Body the Occasionalists argued, following the Malebranche, that God causes the human body to act parallel to changes in the human mind. Material events are but moments of God's determinate will and to understand them is to share ideas identical with archetypes in God's essence.

²² *Ibid.* p. 554.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 555.

Leibniz' conclusion is that the view is largely unproven and that it derives from the simple allegory of a wind animating musical organs, making different pipes sound differently but still in substance remaining the same.²⁴ On further reflection Leibniz notes that there is a danger with the doctrine. If the universal spirit is identified with the composite of individual souls one could come to reverse the argument and claim that the universal spirit is nothing but such a composite and that therefore the notion of God reduces to a composite of individual spirits.²⁵ Further Leibniz shows that these individual spirits must be identified with the indestructable seeds of life, which experience shows to inhere in plants animals and that need only nourishment, transformation, and growth to develop into mature beings.²⁶ Leibniz thus sees how the doctrine would implicitly identify, and thereby reduce, God to Nature.

At least at one point after her discussions with Catholic Jesuits, Queen Christina was taken as denying that bodies differ from souls. Indications are that she affirmed a Pantheistic World Soul derived from an Averroistic separation between faith and philosophy and an emphasis on the active intellect. There is a wide range of interpretations of the World Soul, but as Leibniz describes, it was possible to amalgamate the common features into an eclectic synthesis, forming a comprehensive whole with both atomist and vitalist aspects. Thus, while Lucretius held that souls perish with the body, he also describes how we perceive atoms through shapes torn off from the surface of things. These are called "simulacra" and constitute images, and the way they move the mind was taken by many to show that atoms are linked in a World Soul. The vital spiritual kernels thus would be explained through some sort of representation on an atomistic base. The formidable problems of working this out were of less concern to activists, like Christina, who accepted the World Soul as an alternative to confessional dogma. In the hands of the Cambridge Platonist Henry More, the concept of a World Soul was used to argue that a dualist system of thought and extension must admit spirits as a plastic medium. More, however, made continuous efforts to distance himself from the Averroist World Soul philosophers, beginning with his early poem *Antimonopsychia* (1642). More argued in his *Tetractys Anti-Astrologica or . . . the Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness . . .* (1660) that Averroist atheism differs from the Epicurean's. He

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 558.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 558.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 557.

thought that the Averroist view leads to a fatalistic materialism. By supplanting Aristotle's celestial intelligences with an all pervading World Soul they would set astrological prediction above revelation: "As if all of religion were but an influence of Nature and transient blast of the stars."²⁷

The direct source for Leibniz' belief that a form of this doctrine was accepted by Christina was his reading of the then recently published *Naudéana* (1701), the memoirs of Christina's and Mazarin's librarian Naudé. Gabriel Naudé (1600–1653) had in his youth studied Averroist-Aristotelian philosophy with Cremonini at Padua and became an advocate of a Macchiavellian theory of Coup d'Etats. Naudé also wrote on library science, and disapprovingly on magic and Rosicrucianism. In Paris, he was the librarian of Mazarin and fleeing the Paris Fronde he went to Stockholm in 1651 to stay for little less than a year. He could then have influenced the Queen. However, he left Stockholm in anger in 1652 when he realized that the money Christina had promised him was not forthcoming. He used to tell his friends that the Queen had lost all interest in studies and how she had carelessly thrown the books to the floor in her frenzy to clear the library for her court ladies.

The establishing of Christina's World Soul philosophy may have been instead her academic sessions in 1653. Pierre Bourdelot had been infected with Naudé's fervour for Italian philosophy. When he bought his uncle's library for Christina's collection, it was with the full knowledge that Jean Bourdelot possessed the political treatises of Campanella, manuscripts of Cremonini and Pomponazzi (among them the famous *De Incantationibus* in which it is argued that prayer has no external effect, but rather is merely consoling to the subject engaged in the practice), plus the complete printed works of both authors. As recent studies on clandestine diffusion of ideas have shown, the French interpretation of Pomponazzi that Naudé presented along with the doctrines of Cardano and Vanini, increasingly tended towards accepting the World Soul as material. The doctrine of a material soul was finally exposed to a larger clandestine readership with an anonymous tract whose author is still unidentified, the *Theophrastus Redivivus*. It came to light in the eighteenth century, but from a manuscript note it has been judged, perhaps on shaky grounds, to have been written as early as 1659. It is probably a good source for understanding Bourdelot's circle, as the work contains quotations not only from the Italian materialists,

²⁷ Henry More, *Tetractys Anti-Astrologica or . . . the Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness . . .* London 1681. Book VII, Chapter XIV, sec. 9.

but also from Hobbes and Saumaise whom Bourdelot knew quite well.²⁸

Leibniz' attribution is also supported by some other sources. One is the disputed pamphlet *Le Genie de la reine de Suède* (1655) attributed to Christina's secretary, Urbain Chevreau, a Paris Frondeur and friend of Jean Chapelain. In the pamphlet it is said that Christina thought that one should not repent nor seek pardon for one's actions and that the only form of immortality can be found in Plato's doctrine of the Universal Soul.

Chevreau also claims in his memoirs that it was he who in 1673 after reading Spinoza's commentary on Descartes' principles (1663) suggested to Prince Charles Ludwig of the Palatinate that he call Spinoza to Heidelberg.²⁹ Whether this is true or not, it does show that Chevreau was well versed in philosophy. The frequent doubts that *Le Genie*'s pronouncements could have described Christina's view only depend on the fact that they were printed together with another pamphlet, written by Saint-Maurice. That pamphlet contains many statements that clearly signal that the author is not sincere (see Appendix II).

Another instructive fact is that an appendix to Isaac Vossius' work on the nature and properties of light—first printed in 1666 as an addition to his studies of the origin of the Nile—stated that the substance of the soul and the origin of light must be located in the Universal Soul. In following chapters, I present further data about Christina's involvement with World Soul thinkers that are to a large extent independent of the French sources that may have belonged to a generic tradition stemming from *Le Genie*, from

²⁸ Tullio Gregory, *Theophrastus Redivivus—Erudizione e ateismo nel Seicento*. Morano, Napoli 1979. Full text from the Baron von Hohendorf and Eugene de Savoy c: a 1716 manuscripts for the first time printed in Guido Canziano and Gianni Paganini, *Theophrastus Redivivus—Edizione prima e critica*. Nuova Italia, Firenze 1981. On the text's dependence on Pomponazzi and Cardano (as well as Machiavelli, Bodin and Vanini) see Canziano's and Paganini's respective articles in *La Dix-Septième Siècle*, December 1985. Introductory remarks found in Ira O. Wade *The Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*. Princeton 1938, and in J. S. Spink (1960) and his "La Diffusion des idées materialistes et antireligieuses au début du XVIII^e Siècle: Le 'Theophrastus Redivivus'", *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* XLIV, 1937. pp. 248–255. Spink claims that the date 1659 is clearly stated on page 351 of the manuscript in Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin 9324. Yet, not everybody is convinced that the manuscript really dates from this very early period. If it does, it is significant that Saumaise and ideas related to Hobbes' are sources for some of the arguments. The writer may have been acquainted with Bourdelot's circle at Chantilly, as well as with the Italian materialists. Naudé and Bourdelot typify this background, but the writer must have been a meticulous scholar with a wealth of time on his hand.

²⁹ *Chevreauana* 1697–1700.

Bourdelot, or Naudé. Hopefully, this will show us why, in Paris 1676, Leibniz found the case of Queen Christina so instructive that he planned a dialogue where she was to argue with Descartes on the Soul of the World. Some weeks later he was thinking of a dialogue set in the “Elysean fields”. The turns of speech were to consider the case of brute animals; first with the Cartesian view of them as inanimate automata, then with Pythagorean arguments on the transmigration of souls.³⁰ Thus, the material to be found by following Leibniz’ lead adds greatly to an understanding of the Stockholm court, of Christina’s development through her middle years, and finally also of her later acceptance of Molinos’ Quietism.

³⁰ Leibniz *Gessammelte Briefe und Aufsätze* Berlin 1980. Sechste Reihe, Dritter Band. 1672–1676. December 1676 p. 399, 582.

CHAPTER FIVE

HERMETIC PHILOSOPHY

Incidental to his researches into Quietism, Sven Stolpe noticed that in 1682 when François Malaval appeals to Christina for a defence of his Quietist doctrines that had been brought before the Inquisition, he reminds her of the abdication and lauds her for finally having given up Hermes Trismegistus and the Platonists.¹ Christina and Malaval had met in Marseille in 1657 on Christina's second journey to Paris, and it is from this time that Malaval draws his inferences on Christina's inner development.² When Christina performed her first known experiments in alchemy in 1656, she probably knew that the revived Lucretian atomism she accepted was a modernist foundation for the chemical transformations which Hermeticism also addressed.³ But her involvement with these doctrines was problematic—the Catholic church had declared alchemy a heresy and accused alchemists for adoring their art as a religion of their own, and in general atomism was regarded as a high road to atheism.⁴

Since its Renaissance beginnings, Hermetic philosophy and Paracelsist medicine had spread in northern Europe as an alternative to scholastic Aristotelian metaphysics and Galenist medical typology. There were Swedish Paracelsists involved in alchemy at Christina's court, and some formed a group that attempted to transmute metals according to the principles of mercury and sulphur. Among them the German Pansophist Christian Ravius, and the noblemen Eric Oxenstiern and Bengt Skytte. Ravius corresponded with continental chemists such as Morian, Schwerin, and Glauber. At Uppsala, dated 1653, there even is a letter on the philosopher's stone from Ravius to the great Baconian reformer in England, Samuel Hartlib.⁵ The Queen's librarian Isaac Vossius,

¹ Sven Stolpe *Drottning Kristina* 1982. p. 463.

² *Ibid.* p. 436.

³ Arne Wettermark, who has been studying Christina's alchemy for at least two decades, points out that while he is certain that Hermetic rhetoric is present in the Stockholm period, we lack a clear and direct indication that the Queen actually began to practice alchemy in Sweden. On Christina in Pesaro 1656, see Freinsheimius' memoirs in Arckenholtz (1751), Vol. I, p. 344 ff. Also Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm MSS. D: 684, 3–7.

⁴ See chapter XIV below.

⁵ Sten Lindroth, *Paracelsismen i Sverige* 1943. p. 492–93. Hartlib to Ravius 1653,

who came to Sweden through his contact with Skytte, made it his task to sort out the war booty from Rudolph II's alchemical collection. Vossius could not read the Bohemian script, but he saw the alchemical tracts as good exchange value for rare Greek manuscripts and in 1655 he brought most of them to his private collection in Leiden.⁶ Ambassador Juel mentions an Italian "chemist" by name Bandini at the Stockholm court in 1652, but only later, in 1656, is Christina's own alchemical practice mentioned. In Rome, she installed a special destillarium in her Palazzo Riario. Her correspondence with Cardinal Azzolino shows that the two of them were interested in finding that precious piece of alchemist legend—the philosopher's stone.⁷

It can be shown that Christina in 1650 was already familiar with the theological problems involved in accepting Hermetic alchemy and revived Platonic philosophy. There was a Swedish-Baltic discussion of Hermetic doctrines that may have affected her relation to Descartes and Gassendi. Christina's meeting with Descartes that year was one step towards a clearer understanding of the clash between naturalism and traditional scriptural understanding. Descartes' fideistic evasion of explaining how Genesis and the Christian mysteries could harmonize with his naturalist claims was a way to avoid heresy, and I argue that Christina probably saw that his appeal to orthodox Catholic belief was no real solution.⁸ Instead, one ought to attend to the fact that after Descartes' death, Christina invited to her court Pierre Gassendi, who was promoting a Christianized Epicurean ethic to reconcile the atomistic theory of matter and motion with Christian doctrines.⁹ His views were notorious for their comprehensive attempt to unify ideas until then considered utterly distinct.

N 478. Uppsala UB. The Queen and a recent plague are mentioned in letters of this group. But comp. n. 3 above.

⁶ F. F. Blok, *Contributions to the History of Isaac Vossius's Library* 1974. P. C. Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici* 1975.

⁷ Azzolino collection 36, Riksarkivet Stockholm.

⁸ In 1648 at Utrecht, Descartes met the Christian Hebraist Anna Maria van Schurmann and discussed the text in *Genesis*: "the Spirit of the Lord moved upon the face of the waters". Descartes told van Schurmann that in his youth he had wanted to know how the human spirit and the Divine spirit were related and thought of learning Hebrew to understand the text. But he soon realized that there was nothing clear and distinct in it and thought it impossible to know what Moses wanted to have said. He then decided to leave the issue. As described in *la Vie de feu Mr. de Labadie*. Paris 1703. p. 283.

⁹ Compare Chapter IV above.

Friedrich Menius and Spiritual Atomism

Christina's first real contact with the problem occurred in 1645 at the church trial of Friedrich Menius' heretical views.¹⁰ In 1644, Menius, a learned scholar at the university of Dorpat in Estonia, published a work called *Consensus-Hermetico Mosaicus*. Here he gives his own version of the way to universal knowledge, borrowing material from Amos Comenius' two works *Prodromus Pansophia* and *Synopsis Physicae ad Lumen Divinum Reformatae*. In Comenius' works, physical events and the generation of matter and motion is explained in a Mosaic context using a Lux, Matter, Mind metaphysics derived from the Protestant mystics Jacob Boehme and Valentin Weigel. In his physics, Comenius describes the world, by referring to Acts 17: 28, as the substance "in which we live, and move, and have our being"—a verse constantly used by believers in the World Soul.¹¹ The danger of Menius' acceptance of these views was most evident in his *Historiae Pansophia* where the doctrine of inner illumination and spiritual light provides an individual way to divinity that dispenses with orthodox ritual. The prospect of a new sacred world order based on views bordering on a Unitarian conception of religious practice threatened both the Lutheran and the secular order and was prone to be condemned. Menius' placard—with a sun surrounded by an alchemical triangle, circle, and square spanning the breadth of the heraldic plate flanked by two Lions and the subscript "Ex Unio Omnia"—was not enough to hide the intent of his views.¹² The persecution of Menius was all the more important as the orthodox clergy suspected other Swedish sympathizers. Only a year later Johannes Matthiae's defence of the church order of the Moravian brethren also came close to being banned. A few years later Menius' student at Dorpat, the Swede Georg Stiernhielm, expanded his own emanationist philosophy based on Hermetic doctrines and Christian Kabbalah. Through these channels Christina was informed of the debate on metaphysical alternatives for understanding the problems of the Mosaic creation doctrine in Genesis.

The protocols of the Menius trial are detailed and give an ample

¹⁰ Johan Nordström, "Friedrich Menius: En aventyrlig Dorpat professor och hans glomda insats i det Engelska komediant dramats historia" *Samlaren*, Stockholm 1921. pp. 42–91. T. Norlin, "Fredrik Menius, en svensk antitrinitarie i det sjuttonde arhundradet" *Teologisk Tidskrift* 8, 1868.

¹¹ Amos Comenius, *Natural Philosophy Reformed by Divine Light or a Synopsis of Physicks*. Engl. transl. London 1651. p. 22.

¹² Reproduced in Sten Lindroth, *Svensk Lärdomshistoria—Stormaktstiden* 1975. p. 159.

view of how Orthodox Lutheranism had to assert itself against even more individualistic and anti-authoritarian radicals. Menius was condemned for holding heretical opinions that would strike against the foundation of revealed religion—the biblical text itself. Menius claimed that some central passages of the Hebrew text in Genesis are corrupt. He was charged with setting the *Lumen Natura* over *Lumen Gratia*, thus acting as St. Paul deplores in 1 Cor. 2: 14. Menius tried to defend himself by claiming that Hermetic philosophy is prior to the spiritual claims of the Church, and that his views pertain to man only before the fall, not after it when our sinful nature must receive God's grace to prevail in faith. But the Orthodoxy firmly held that *Lumen Naturae*, as likewise the Papists' views, destroys the authority of faith.¹³ In his final condemnation, Menius was accused of some specified consequences of his naturalist position:

1. That God has made two worlds, one invisible and one visible, the former is eternal.
2. Angels and men have the same cause; and there are neutral angels, neither bound to God nor to Lucifer.
3. The world shall not in the end merely cease but will turn to a "Confusum Chaos".
4. The world is composed of atoms, as Democritus says.
5. All beings created by God have life in them.
6. The stars have inhabitants—souls.
7. The soul of man is made by the heavenly water.
8. God's action is needed to sustain and foment the invisible matter created by eternity, to put to order and function all visible things in time, and finally to resurrect the dead.

The idea of a plastic space alive with forces that influence humans (a spiritual equivalent to the neo-Stoic notion of a corporeal plenum) is typical of Paracelsus' metaphysics. Democritean atomism was a way to explain how forces perpetuate through the spiritual fluidum in both matter and mind.¹⁴ Menius' metaphysical views were condemned for implying several Arian, i.e., Unitarian heresies. It was found that in the chapter *De Regeneratione Adami*, Menius' claimed that the Trinity is nothing but an ethical allegory for a unitary God's Omnipotence, Clemency, and Justice. Christ is not entirely divine but has an Adamic material body as well as an

¹³ Georg Stiernhielm, "Ur Stiernhielms Filosofiska Papper" *Samlade Skrifter*. 2: 2 in Latin, Johan Nordström ed. 1924.

¹⁴ Johan Nordström (1921), p. 65.

eternal, divine body, which is also found in every human being. Humans thus have an outer elementary nature and an inner spiritual nature that can be awakened to divine likeness. In the beginning, Adam was neither male nor female. However, Christ's divinity is not dependent on the Holy spirit because Mary, contrary to the orthodox opinion that she has divine seed, has a natural semen distinct from male seed. Lastly, Menius claimed that the Hebrew text is corrupt and Menius claims that while God shall in time reawaken the dead, theology cannot show us *how* this is going to take place. Menius instead confesses a belief in "Archeus"—the World Soul.¹⁵

When Christina first heard of Menius' views, just some months after assuming her role in the Council, she declared that the man holding to the "Pansophia" ought to have his head off. The Orthodox clergy had pointed to the similarity between Menius' views and the Anabaptists', and they refer with vehemence to the English revolutionary scene of division in faith.¹⁶ But a year later, confronted with the details of the trial and with a declaration from Menius specifically written to her, Christina acquits him on condition that he will not propagate his heresies further. This is an unusually mild sentence that is all the more remarkable given that the trial process seems to have originated not in the dissenting religious views, but in fear of a conspiracy with support in the Swedish county of Dalarna thought to spread if Menius were exiled to Danzig.¹⁷ Whether the political plot was an excuse for rooting out dissenting clergy or whether the dissenting clergy had to be further smothered by political conspiracies is hard to determine, but the serious consequences of doctrinal questions was made clear to all.

In Menius' defence declaration directed to Christina in 1646, he elaborates his claim that nature before the fall must be explained by some version of his system, and he particularly points out that he never wanted to change the symbols or practice of the Church. He proposes to her that he will write a historiography of the eastern

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 62. The plastic fluidum also is close to the Stoic notion of "pneuma" and its biologically formative principles "logos spermatokoi", compare Stiernhielm's 1656 definition "Anima Mundi mihi vedetur Composita esse ex Mente & Luce, & quatenus Mundum animat, ex Spiritu Materiali, qui Medius . . . Eam sic definio: Anima Mundi est Lux Mente gubernata Mundum vivificans & regens. vel: est Lux Mente accensa in corpore Mundano. vel: actus Lucis, & Mentis: etc. Ea est quem ignem vocant Stoici, ratione Seminale foecundum." Stiernhielm's source is Justus Lipsius' *Philosophia Stoica*, Johan Nordström 2:2 (1924), p. 142.

¹⁶ Johan Nordstrom (1921), p. 40.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 43.

Baltic in four volumes, and he refers to his grande scheme in his *Genealogia Animalorum* where he presents a genealogy of Christina stemming from the Goth Theodoric the Great. He claims that his hermetic alchemy work *Metallurgica Suedica* could be used to the nation's defence.¹⁸

Queen Christina showed that she was familiar with new world systems when she in 1646 started her correspondence with Descartes. Almost at the same time, in spite of knowing their implied heresies, she was willing in practise to overlook such claims being made. Her question to Descartes on the consequences of an infinite world (as had been argued also by Giordano Bruno) shows that she was aware of heretical doctrines claiming that other inhabited worlds must exist and that the universe is not a closed Christian system. The author of the early 1655 pamphlet *Le Genie de la reine de Suède* in fact claims that Christina believed that the only admissible form of immortality is the Universal Soul—a doctrine that Hermetic, Platonist, Paracelsist, and Atomist sources asserted.¹⁹

The Menius trials was the first point at which Christina realizes that much of institutionalized religion is, as she said, a political invention for the commoner order of minds.²⁰ In the 1652 report by the Jesuits she secretly had invited, Christina confesses that she was in a state of great mental stress for several years, while looking for religious answers.²¹ It is probable that this period began with her public acts in 1647, when Christina supports Matthiae's opposition to the rigid Lutheranism of the Concord formula. In doing so, she was favouring the syncretic and tolerant position against the orthodox priests.²²

The supporters of syncretic metaphysics often saw their interest as a prelude to new political patterns. It is therefore of interest to study why the Pansophist Church reformers Amos Comenius and John Dury failed in their missions in Sweden. I believe that there is evidence to show that Christina's opposition to the Orthodoxy was initially accompanied by a support of the reformers' attempts to restructure education, church, and society.²³ One such significant initiative was the signed decree in 1651 for a college at Dorpat for

¹⁸ Friedrich Menius to Queen Christina 18 Aug 1645, 6 May 1646.

¹⁹ Urbain Chevreau, anon. *Le Genie de la reine Christine de Suède* 1655. See appendix II.

²⁰ The Jesuit Casati's report, in von Ranke (1906), pp. 31.

²¹ *Loc. cit.*

²² Sven Stolpe (1982), pp. 135–141.

²³ The non-orthodox activities have been noted before, but Christina's role has been considered minimal. Sten Lindroth (1943), (1975).

eight theologians and some linguists.²⁴ Studies were to be held under supervision of Bishop Gezelius, who in 1650 completed a work called *De Primo Homine* as a contribution to the ongoing debate on Genesis.²⁵

Georg Stiernhielm, Johannes Bureus, and the Gothic Kabbalah

In the period up to 1651, Christina was influenced by the emanationist philosophy of Georg Stiernhielm, educated by Menius at Dorpat. Menius had a versatile intellect and he was the first to translate Shakespeare's plays into German. Stiernhielm was not only one of the greatest poets of the Swedish language whose translation of *La Naissance de la paix*, the ballet libretto up to recently attributed to Descartes, improves upon the shorter original, but he also combined a Lux, Matter, Mind metaphysics with a linguistic conception of how the word of God creates the world.²⁶ He dedicated several works to Christina up to the time of his settlement in Finland in 1651, where he finally worked out his philosophy. Stiernhielm was a good friend of Christina's unionist advisor Bengt Skytte and had like him travelled in Holland. Stiernhielm had met the learned linguist Anna Maria von Schurmann in Utrecht, and in Stockholm he discussed intellectual matters with Descartes, although their positions were very distant from one another.²⁷ Descartes' statutes for a Swedish academy cultivating the Swedish language must have been ideal for Stiernhielm's project on a lexicon of the Gothic roots of Swedish. The lexicon was started in 1643, and was called *Gambla Svea och Göta måles Fatebur* but never, although Christina gave it a stipend, progressed in print beyond the letter 'A'.²⁸

The basis of Stiernhielm's linguistic period was his studies of technical formations of language, secret codes, and measurements published in the two neo-Pythagorean treatises, the *Arithmetica Mnemonica Universalis* (1642) and the work dedicated to Christina on measuring metallic compounds, *Archimedes Reformatus* (1644), which in 1668 was presented to the Royal Society of Science in London. In

²⁴ Jan Agrell, "Studier i den aldre sprakjamforelsens allmanna och svenska historia fram till 1827" *Uppsala Universitets Arsbok* 1955: 13.

²⁵ Johan Nordström, "Georg Stiernhielms filosofiska fragment" *Samlade Skrifter* 1924. 2:1 p. cci.

²⁶ "Jöran Stiernhielm i Holland 1649" editorial note *Historisk Tidskrift* 1906, pp. 106–107. Johan Nordström, *Stiernhielms Samlade Skrifter* 2: 2 (1923).

²⁷ Johan Nordström (1924) 2: 1, p. ccxvi.

²⁸ Sten Lindroth (1975), p. 272.

1649, Stiernhielm was appointed Custos Archivis in charge of organizing the material of runes, moulds, and other evidence of the Scandinavian Gothic past—prepared for by his presentation of the relation between Gothic and Hebrew in his *Magog Arameo Gothicus* (1643). His views were then extended further in his *Runa Suethica, Systematica Comprehensa* (1651) and his *Adulruna seu Sibylla Sveo-Gothica Virgula Divinum* (1648), dedicated to the Queen.

Stiernhielm's historico-linguistic studies were inspired by Gustavus Adolphus' mentor Johannes Bureus, who had extensively studied several Christian Kabbalists including Reuchlin and Postel's Latin edition of *Sepher Jezira*—the book of formation—a genuine Kabbalist text on numerological cosmology. Bureus published his own understanding of these views in his *Hebraerorum Philosophia Antiquissima Divinae Potentia, Sapientiae et Bonitatis Revelatrix* (1641). He applied his numerological methods to Runic speculation on the coming millennium, culminating with his theory that the period of the world's destruction would begin in 1648.²⁹ The Queen's tutor, Johannes Matthiae, had attended Bureus' lectures at Uppsala and thus Bureus' presentation of a regency line through the Wasas back to the early mainly fictional Gothic kings received Christina's direct attention.

Johannes Bureus was the most extreme philosopher of the Swedish expansionist campaign. He held many fantastic opinions on the providential future and argued for the mystical origin of the three crowns in the heraldic weapon of his people. He let himself be painted surrounded by four cherubim proclaiming the breaking of the seventh seal, an analogy to his own status as Kabbalist revealer. But he also was the first to systematize the reading of Runes, he worked on spreading the knowledge of this alphabet, and he started a systematic collection of Runic remnants. Bureus was influenced by the Rudolphine alchemists Heinrich Khunrath and John Dee and his early fragment on a universal Runic acrosticon which, with allusion to the Rosicrucian manifestos he called *Fama e Scanzia Redux* (1616), also betrays direct contact with continental Paracelsists.³⁰ Through his Rosicrucian pamphlets, another one is the *Ara Foederis Therapici F. X. R.* (1617), he made contact with

²⁹ On Johannes Bureus see Sten Lindroth (1943) pp. 82–252. On Postel's *Jezira* pp. 130–131. Portrait reprinted in Sten Lindroth (1975). See also the comments on Bureus in Allan Ellenius, "Johnnes Schefferus and Swedish Antiquity" *J. of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* Vol. XX no. 1–2, 1957. pp. 59–74. esp. p. 69.

³⁰ Sten Lindroth (1943), p. 111. Guillaume Postel published his derivation of the Arameic word "gaulois" in his *Le Thresor des Propheties de L'Univers* (1547), which is listed on Vossius' Antwerp catalogue, Vat. Lat. 8171, f. 344.

German alchemists such as Joachim Morsius, who also knew about Bureus' 1622 print on "Mensura Templi Salomonis" and who came to Sweden in person to hear about the Gothic Kabbalah. Bureus' most central statement, which trumpeted the title *Buccina Ultimi Jubilei* (1618), drew on the treasure of prophecies published by the heretic Arabist Guillaume Postel in 1547 to expound on the Arameic sense of the biblical "gallim"—those saved from the Flood—and on the Universal Monarchy promised to them. In this progression, Bureus had begun to see the fate of the Swedes.

In 1644, Bureus published a major work on prophecy called "The Roar of the Northern Lion" in which he combined measurements of the biblical standards for the copper altar of Solomon's Temple, with runic calendar logs, to reveal the divine purpose of Scripture.³¹ This sort of Gothic Kabbalah continued to preoccupy him until he published his *Runa Redux* (1643) which provided the last key for his conviction that 1648 was the final year before the age of reconstruction prefacing the final dawn of judgment. The Gothic Kabbalah contained the view that an "Adulruna" exists in which the ancient Scandinavians had set their knowledge of the universe and Bureus claimed to have found the way to read this secret Rune by using genuine Kabbalist rules of replacement.

In comparison to Bureus, Stiernhielm appears less mystical and prophetic and his writings are easier to follow, although his inventive comparative linguistics also strays away from a cautious path. Stiernhielm's disquisitions on "Radix Ma" is particularly suggestive. In it he connects the root through "mylla/materia/mamma" and shows the conceptual connection between earth, matter, and life to inevitable death.³² The sound of the prevalent syllable here takes on a poetic metaphysical meaning implying a world system behind our daily speech. Stiernhielm acquired some of the suggestions for Gothic roots from England, from where his son sent him relevant British lexicographic works. Beside the linguistic work and the permutation of language roots to find a cosmic and political order, Stiernhielm also spun out a metaphysics of his own. While the Mosaic conception is that there is a once and for all acquired creation, classical thinkers (among them Aristotle) elaborated the theory that the earth did not come from nothing, but rather was

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 175. The continued title of Bureus' *Buccina Jubilei Ultimi* runs in A. E. White's English translation: "Hyperbolic prediction of Eos, smiting with resplendent noise the summits of the mountains of Europe, sounding amidst the hills and valleys of Arabia."

³² Carl-Ivar Stahle. "Sprakteori och ordval i Stiernhielm's författarskap" *Arkiv for Nordisk filologi* 66, 1951.

formed out of an eternal chaos. Robert Fludd's *Philosophia Mosaica* (1638) had shown Stiernhielm a way to derive from Kabbalistic doctrines how time and its history begins with God's word and how it can be conceived as light shining forth through darkness.³³ "Logos-Lux" is here the active catalyst of a union between inert passive matter and the ordering principle of "ratio-mind".

Stiernhielm follows this line by postulating a dialectic between Minerva and Arachnae, where Minerva stands for mind and order and Arachnae for a spider woman weaving a fertile thread spurred on by the Hebrew acrosticon Aleph. Stiernhielm's conception of evil shows how Arachnae-matter with her gravity forces Minerva-ratio to fall away from the goal of creation represented by the divine Aleph-logos. Thus Lux, Matter, Mind combine a neo-Platonic emanation in a creation where each thing gravitates towards a preordained level to find its harmonious place. In the *Monile Minerva*, Stiernhielm describes this reality as being interconnected in a chain, allegorically represented as the bracelet on Minerva's neck. His manuscript *Peplum Minerva Architoae . . . hoc est Sapientia Vetus et Nova* (1652), even more boldly, uses an inscription from the Egyptian Isis Temple cited in Plutharch's *De Iside et Osiride*: "I am everything that is, everything that shall be; and no mortal has yet torn off my cloak [peplum]."³⁴

Hermetic doctrines of this sort derived their legacy from a historiography that showed how Hermes Trismegistus came to be associated with Thot—the Egyptian scribe and God of death. It was thought that Babylonian secrets were passed on through Egypt to Moses who thus knew the creation (Acts 7: 22). Plato's emanation doctrine in the *Timaeus* and its elaboration in Plotinus' *Enneads* was a clearer version of this theme, resulting in the Renaissance notion that Plato was nothing but Moses Atticus.³⁵ At Florence about 1460, Cosimo de Medici's academy financed Marcilio Ficino's edition of Platonic dialogues, and Cosimo's eagerness for the ancient mysteries also drew attention to Pico della Mirandola's studies of the Hermetic corpus. Renaissance Hermeticism soon became a significant element of the Florentine arts. The Florentine Renaissance was then transported to the alchemical court of Rudolph II. After the Rudolphine culture spread through Northern

³³ Sten Lindroth (1943), p. 471 ff.

³⁴ Johan Nordström (1924), 2:1 p. ccxxii. Plutharch is quoted by G. J. Vossius, *Theologia Gentile* p. 720, noted in the unpublished paper "Stiernhielms tidigare filosofi", Nordström box 4. Uppsala UB.

³⁵ For details of this history see D. P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology* 1972.

Europe, the differences between the ancient doctrines were no longer relevant—Protestant thinkers wanted to combine the new faith in Scripture with the pre-patristic metaphysics of the ancients. Avoiding the scholasticism of the received Aristotelian concepts of essences, attributes, and causes, they searched for a doctrine that could explain the charismatic and internal perception of their newborn belief. Some genuinely independent developments also took place: Paracelsus' chemical medicine drew on the magical element of the ancient alchemical parts of the corpus, but now with a trinitarian conception of the processes involved in transmuting mercury, sulphur, and salt. Jacob Boehme's revival of mystical emanationism in his doctrine of light and darkness, of God's wrath and his grace to the newborn, was assimilated by Protestant reformers who emphasized the inner light in human beings.³⁶ On a more accessible level the influx of Renaissance art to Northern Europe spread the images of neo-Platonism, now in a distinctly non-patristic form suited to the emblematic age of the Baroque.

There thus was a rich background to Stiernhielm's permutations on the roots of Runic and Gothic texts as the linguistic counterparts of his metaphysics presented in his *Templum Naturae iussu Christinae . . . reseratum* in 1651. This manuscript underwent many transformations all playing on the theme of God's vibrant word, represented by the Hebrew Aleph, spinning a cobweb infused by form. Throughout his many manuscripts, Stiernhielm uses a special blend of doctrines—a neo-Stoic plenum blended by subtle light, a Paracelsian World Soul whose mindlike activity draws on a Platonic conception of originals and derivative individuals—and Scripture-based Mosaic hermeneutics to explain the creation of life. Linguistics, algebra, mechanical mnemonics, and signs from antiquity were then used to strengthen his projected basis of a close connection between Hebrew and the formation of the Gothic-Runic tongue.³⁷

Stiernhielm held a central position in Swedish philosophy and he was not an isolated figure. He knew the physical doctrines of Averroes, the stoical doctrines of Lipsius and D'Espagnet, the universalism of Bacon, Alsted, and Comenius. He could read Italian and he reflects thoughts found in Patrizzi, Bruno, and

³⁶ Arlene Miller-Guinsburg, "Von Paracelsus zu Böhme: Auf dem Weg zu neuen Bestandaufnahmen in der beeinflussung Böhmes durch Paracelsus", Paracelsus in der Tradition: *Salzburger Beiträge zur Paracelsusforschung* 21, Wien 1980, pp. 96–118.

³⁷ Johan Nordström (1924), 2:1 p. ccxxiv.

Campanella. Employing a scheme of heterogenous elements instead of atoms and an interspersed vacuum, Stiernhielm used his system to criticize Gassendi's views on the existence of a void. Given all this, Christina was sure to attend the debate in 1653 between Stiernhielm and Bishop Terserus on the status of Hebrew as an inspired language.³⁸

The developments in Swedish-Baltic philosophy justify the conclusion that about 1650 Christina was aware of Hermetic-related doctrines of a distinct Nordic mark. Her meeting with Descartes, which took place shortly after her educational reform initiatives, made clear to her that there was a conflict between the modern mechanical philosophies and the elaborate theorizing involved in Hermetic philosophy. Still, Christina remained influenced by Hermeticism all through her Swedish career. The important point about her Stockholm years is that her "Greek studies" (which Descartes saw as an overwhelming competitor to his philosophy) involved not only as previous scholarship has pointed out history, politics, and Stoic ethics, but also neo-Platonism and Hermeticism. Thus, along with a portrait of Descartes, Christina brought to her collections in Rome also one of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.

In a critical study of Chanut's memoirs and letters, Martin Weibull has pointed out that the Ambassador's famous comment that Christina read Tacitus as her *jeu d'échec* was a hedging of what she really meant.³⁹ The Queen, who obviously had a political mind, also used to refer to her Greek studies in general with this comment. From about 1649 with Vossius' and Freinsheimsius' help, Christina immersed herself in reading ancient spiritual texts and their commentaries by the early Church fathers. The basis for the notion of divine substance as needed for the Trinity was a thorny and unresolved problem for scholars of the period whose scepticism grew with their rediscovery and understanding of the ancient texts. Then, in October 1650, Vossius wrote the Vatican Librarian Lucas Holstenius to tell him that the miraculously learned Swedish Queen desired to have copies of the most important interpretations of Plato and Plotinus, by Proclus, Hermias and Olympiodorus. Vossius also asked Claude Sarrau in Paris for the commentaries by Proclus on Plato's *Alcibiades* and *Parmenides*. So, in 1652, when Christina was trembling with joy on receiving a rare manuscript of Iamblichos' *De Mysteriis Aegyptiaca*, it was because of her desire to understand the secret tradition on the ascent of the Soul and its

³⁸ Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. I, p. 335.

³⁹ Quoted in Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire* 1698, numerous editions. Martin Weibull

final release from the trappings of the flesh, said to derive from Hermes Trismegistus, the legendary Egyptian teacher of Moses.⁴⁰ In December, another event was drawn to a close; Heinsius reported to Vossius that Christina's musician Alexander Cecconi had arrived in Florence to obtain the only remaining manuscript copy of Porphyry's sharp attack, *Against the Christians*. As Vossius' father, Gerhard Johannes, had told Adler Salvius, a copy of all its fifteen books had survived the book purges of the fifth century. He had seen it bound together with Xenophon's *Milesiaca* in the back rooms of the Florentine Bibliotheca Laurenziana. But then, Christina's secret emissar had used such an unskillful negotiation style that all possibilities to get access to Porphyry's work were ruined. (Heinsius' and Vossius' fury over this disaster is understandable; the manuscript has never been divulged to the public.)⁴¹

Instead, in 1652, Christina made an important commission for a commentary on the Pythagoreans in the tradition of Iamblichos, Porphyry, and Diogenes Laertius, a work which finally took form in Johannes Schaeffer's *De Natura et Constitutione Philosophiae Italicae seu Pythagoricae* (Uppsala 1664). Schaeffer's volume may reflect a lively interest in Sweden for these doctrines and was particularly clear on the doctrine of metempsychosis, on the identification of Moses with Mosche the Phoenician—the atomist student of Democritos—and on the fact that the Pythagoreans even let women partake of the intrinsic doctrines of their academies. Schaeffer's focus on Mosche the Phoenician influenced both Constantin Grimaldi's Neapolitan history of philosophy (1670) and Ralph Cudworth's descriptions in his true intellectual system (1671). Schaeffer's identification of the Swedes with the Hyperboreans of antiquity and his descriptions of the Pythagorean elements among the northern druids were however more often ignored when the book reached an international audience. This era probably also inspired Christina's acquaintance in Paris, Gilles Menage, to write the double volume dedicated in 1690 to Anne Dacier, the *Historia mulierum philosopharum* and the *Commentarius Italiciis in vii sonettum Francisci Petrarca* which portrays the Swedish Queen for the most

"Ambassador Chanut's memoirer" *Historisk Tidskrift* 1887–88. On the portraits, see Karl-Erik Steneberg, *Kristinatidens maleri*. 1955. p. 86, 87.

⁴⁰ Isaac Vossius to Lucas Holstenius, 8 October 1650, Barb. Lat. 2188, ff. 57–58. Bibl. Ap. Vaticana. Isaac Vossius to Claude Sarrau May 1650, Concept book no. 8. Amsterdam UB F 28. Copy in Nordstrom box 11, Uppsala UB.

⁴¹ Heinsius to Vossius, 12 December 1650 in P. Burman *Sylloge epistolarum* 1727. Vol. 3. Also, Johan Adler-Salvius was interested in the manuscript see Johan Nordström, "Isaac Vossius and Christina". Unpublished paper, Nordström box 11, Uppsala UB.

learned of female minds. Similarly, after leaving Stockholm for the Hague in 1655, Isaac was inspired to republish his father's G. J. Vossius' *De natura et constitutione philosophorum sectis* (1658). Christina's well meant attempt in 1651, to send the young Swede Petrus Rezander to Paris to copy the Platonic commentaries of Hermias, and those by Olympiodoros on *Phaedo* and *Philebus*, was less uplifting. After declaring that Isaac Vossius was his sole liberator and light, Rezander fell into an abyss of alcoholic melancholy and died before the task was completed.⁴²

In 1653, Christina's interest in Italian philosophy had begun to be known and Fortunio Liceto decided to dedicate to the Queen his work on Hermeticism, *Hieroglyphica, sive antiqua schemate gemmarum annularium*. He also dedicated to her a reprint of his *De Lucernis Antiquorum Reconditus* (1621), on the mystery of the inextinguishable lamps found in ancient burial chambers. He wrote that as ruler of the age the Queen of Sweden shines forth with the dazzling light of the sun and he saw her city as "Holmiae Platonica Respublica Felix". In 1655, Pierre de Fermat (who used to protect his craft by not providing the details of his proofs) alluded to the connection between mathematics and Hermetic philosophy. He dedicated to Christina his geometrical exhibition of Euclid's *Porisms* with the pledge:

Since the Swedish star has begun to shine in all sciences, we shall in vain try to keep the scientific secrets [arcana] and mysteries hidden: nothing is impenetrable for the perspicacious mind of the incomparable Queen, and it is unjust to keep secret [occultare] a doctrine which, hardly possible to doubt, will be revealed if she pleases to confer even her slightest affirmative nod or inspiration.⁴³

Christina's self-styled role as a Swedish Minerva, found in her portrait with an owl and three thick volumes (quite possibly the legendary three Sibylline books), poured forth from her study of

⁴² Johan Nordström (1924), p. ccviii. In his *De Yverbornas Ö* 1930, Nordström reports that Schaeffer's work is preoccupied at length with the Italian Pythagorean sources for the story of "Abaris' arrow", the Nordic Apollo and his magical means. Schaeffer thus was caught up in the tide of interest in Scandinavian Gothic lore. The Swedish interest in the ancient theology was ethnographical, one was searching for evidence on the migration of tribes after the fall of Babylon. That this also was Christina's intention in commissioning the work ten years earlier is possible, but not certain. Petrus Rezander to Isaac Vossius, October 1650, in Harald Wieselgren, *Drottning Kristinas Bibliotek och Bibliotekarier* 1901. Appendix 5, p. 68–70.

⁴³ On Liceto, Heinsius to Vossius, Rome 17/12 1652 in P. Burmann, *Sylloge epistolarum . . .* 1727. Vol. 3, 657 ff, also Heinsius to Christina, Florence 1/2, 1653 and Venice 7/3, 1653 in Vol. 5, p. 761 ff. Michael Sean Mahoney, *The Mathematical Career of Pierre de Fermat (1601–1665)* 1973. p. 24, 409.

Greek philosophy and ancient theology. She must have known that Plutharch describes Minerva's birth as a coming forth by her own self, and that Proclus develops reflection as a self-induced spiritual motion. Her attention to Neo-Platonists of the Alexandrian school such as Philo Judeus and Clement was shared by Claude Saumaise, Isaac Vossius, Samuel Bochart, Hermann Conring, Marcus Meibom, Pierre Daniel Huet, and others at the court. Their study of the commentaries of Lactantius, Origen, and other pre-Nicean fathers was an attempt to systemize knowledge on Hellenistic metaphysics and Hermeticism. Among these scholars, it was known that Isaac Causubon's had punctuated the ancient tradition in 1614, when he showed that the works of Hermes Trismegistus were actually written in the third and fourth century after Christ. But to them, Causubon's so-called "explosion of the Ancient myth" was no explosion, but rather gave new impulse to sort out the ramifications of the Alexandrian historical myths. Isaac Vossius, for example, in his late work *De Sibyllinis aliisque quae Christi natalem praecessere Oraculis* (1680), inventively argued from a manuscript in Christina's collection that the prophetic works of Orpheus, Hermes, Zoroaster, the Patriarchs, and the Sibylline Oracles were actually written by Jews using pseudonyms and who wanted to spread their Kabbalist insights on what Christ's second advent to the Gentiles really was. The Oracles (3: 625) had stated that: "From the sun God shall send a King, who shall make the whole earth cease from evil war."⁴⁴

In a commentary, the Bible scholar Richard Simon argued that Vossius was hiding his sources: "I would fein know from what Oracle of the Sibylls the learned Gentleman gather'd; that the Messiah of the Jews should be a Proselyte and a Stranger, according to the opinion of the Jews: for . . . this assertion is contrary to the prophecies of the Prophets and all Evangelical History. . . .

⁴⁴ D. P. Walker (1972) for Hermeticism in France in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. In 1655, Father Manderscheidt reported to the Curia that Christina knew the Church Fathers quite well. She probably involved herself in the christological debate on the generation of distinctions in the Trinity. She read Augustine, Ambrose, Philo Hebraeum, Hieronymus, Gregory, Tertullian, and Cyprian. Later it is said she was acquainted with pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, the fifth century Christian mystic. His ideas on God's self-revelation and the celestial hierarchy uses conceptual tools from Proclus. Naudé reported from Stockholm that Christina "maxime amat": Lactantius, Clement of Alexandria, Arnobius, Minucius Felix, parts of S. Hieronymus and Cyprian and the whole of Gregory of Nazianzen. Arckenholtz (1751), Vol. I. Anthony Grafton, "Protestant versus Prophet: Isaac Causubon on Hermes Trismegistus" *J. of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* Vol. 46 1983. pp. 78–93. esp. pp. 88–89. In 1649, Isaac's son, Meric Causubon, turned down an invitation to the Stockholm court.

Certainly the *Jews* expect one *Messiah* above the rest . . . but they expect other *Messiahs* besides, and for that reason they give that title to some Kings who were well disposed towards them. And therefore Cyrus is called the *Messiah* of the *Jews*, so also Herod and Mahomet might have the Title *Messiah* of the *Jews* . . .⁴⁵ In describing the King that shall bring an end to the Jewish exile, Vossius was in fact applying a notion that he had learned in the Dutch circles of Jewish and Christian non-confessionalists. Simon, on the other hand, was disturbed by the concept of the *Messiah* as “a proselyte and a stranger” and warned: “We shall have Vossius himself in the midst of his Prophetic Chiarme, forging new Prophecies, like that some famous impostor William Postellus, who writes that the Chaldeans had the true doctrine revealed to them under the first Monarchy, and that it was continually renewed like the sacred Doctrine of the ten Sibylls.”⁴⁶

The sceptical tradition of textual criticism used the Hermetic corpus to separate the rigid Christian doctrines from the heritage of syncretist formulations at Alexandria. But it was not settled what the separation should imply. Vossius’ unorthodox interpretation was also formed as a reaction towards the presentation of Egyptian Hermetic prophecy in Giordano Bruno’s *Specchio della Bestia trionfante*—that Presser claims Christina wanted to obtain before leaving Stockholm.⁴⁷ As we shall see, both illuminist Hermeticism in prophetic form and the sceptical use of its sources had an influence on Christina’s understanding of religion. She learned the languages necessary to study the original texts and was aware that they could be given varying interpretations and genealogies. Even so, as Christina Minerva she knew that she would soon become both a proselyte and a stranger.

⁴⁵ Richard Simon, *Critical Enquiries . . . Together with Animadversiones Upon a Small Treatise of Dr. Isaac Vossius Concerning the Oracles of the Sibylls*. London 1684. p. 244–245.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 246.

⁴⁷ J. Presser *Das Buch “De Tribus Impostoribus”* 1926. p. 59.

PART III

THE SWEDISH-BALTIC BACKGROUND

CHAPTER SIX

CHRISTINA MINERVA AND THE ANCIENT MODEL OF LEARNING

At the time of her coronation, the Swedish Queen through her promises of learned patronage became known as a “Semiramis of the North”, and a “Minerva of the Parnassus”, or even as the “Queen Sheba at Solomon’s court”. In keeping with her self-styled role as “Christina Alexandra” she planned an “Alexanderplatz” in Stockholm with equestrian statues reminiscent of Bucephalos, the horse of the Macedonian king. Her imagery was promoted by scholars who sought to interest the Queen in their books and who summarized new research in laudatory epigrams. Flattery like this can be among the letters of Milton, Marvell and Pascal, but they reached a peak in Alexander Morus’ rhetorical encomium, when he, in 1656, saw the young Queen as leading the restitution of the Golden Age by gathering in the tribes of learning from their dispersion.¹

A sufficient reason for the German, French, and Dutch scholars to go to Christina’s Stockholm court was the fine library of war booty manuscripts, until then known only at the distant court of Emperor Rudolph II. To go through these holdings of Greek and Latin manuscripts, alchemical tracts, and illuminated medieval devotional texts was a fruitful prospect for many scholars on the continent after the fall of Prague in 1648. However, the correspondence among the scholars instead often centred on the controversial role of the libertine medical doctor Pierre Michon Bourdelot. Based on this material, René Pintard showed Christina’s involvement with the French libertines and pointed to the signs of her religious dissatisfaction.² But her academy was not intended to teach libertine scepticism. The studies instead emphasized the translation of Greek classical texts and a pursuit of the older Oriental civilizations “ultra antiquitate”. The academy also held forth theories that modified the state of seventeenth century theological linguistics.

¹ For the Alexandrian monument, see Matthias Palbitzky’s sketchbook p. 7, Nationalmuseum Stockholm. Alexander Morus to Meztrezat 1657, Bibliothèque de L’Arsenal, Paris, Ms. 5423. p. 31. Christina had both the power and the disposition to be “l’objet de l’espérance de tous les coins d’Israël . . . a rappeler sous ses enseignes ses tribus, et à consolider leurs playes à présent même.”

² Magnus O. Celsius, *Kort historia over Kungl. Biblioteket i Stockholm* 1751. (1961). René Pintard, *Libertinage Erudit* 1943. pp. 308–403.

Thus, when Father Manderscheidt wrote to Rome to report on Queen Christina's character, he reiterated the frequent judgment that she had "none of the woman except the sex", but was impressed with the fact that she spoke fluent Latin and also knew some eleven languages, including rudiments of Hebrew, Chaldean [Aramaic], and Arabic. Another telling factor is that the first scholars Christina sought out after her abdication were the Dutch polyglot grammarians Johannes Gronovius and Anna Maria van Schurmann whom she met outside Utrecht in 1654.³

The Stockholm Academy

The first mention of an academy at Christina's court occurs in the biography of the orientalist Hiob Ludolf, whose brother Georg Henrik started the gatherings at the beginning of 1650.⁴ These weekly meetings were attended both by learned Swedes such as the poet and philosopher Georg Stiernhielm, the theologian from Nyköping Zacharias Klingius, and the medical doctor Sven Brömse-nius, and foreign scholars such as Johannes Freinshemsius who worked as national historiographer and librarian at Christina's court, the classical linguists Nicolas Heinsius and Isaac Vossius, and the specialist in classical rhetoric at Uppsala University, Johan Heinrich Boecler. As an outcome of these discussions, in October 1650, Vossius boldly suggested to the British expert on biblical chronology, Bishop James Ussher of Armagh, that since the Egyptian and Asian elements of the Bible never had been presented in a single volume, it was time to set up an international board for writing an economical and orderly work of this kind. It was also these gatherings that, in February 1650, inspired Christina to commission René Descartes to write the statutes of a national academy.⁵ In 1652, Christina proposed that the council establish an official academy for the cultivation of the Swedish language in another French pattern. Some time later, through Vossius, Christina paid a fortune for Philostorgus' history of the fourth century heresy

³ "Muliebris nihil habet preter sexum" Manderscheidt to the Curia, 3 Januari 1655. Barb. Lat. 6487, f. 125–126. See also Johan Arckenholtz, Vol. I, p. 338, 261. Una Birch Pope-Hennesy, *Anna van Schurmann, Artist, Scholar, Saint*. Longmans, London 1909, p. 99.

⁴ Johan Nordström "Nagra notiser om Drottning Kristinas akademier" *Lychnos* 1940, pp. 333–341, p. 336.

⁵ Isaac Vossius to Bishop James Ussher, October 1650. Vossius' concept book 8, F28 f. 38. Amsterdam UB. Nordström box 11, Uppsala UB. Copies of the letter were sent to the French biblical scholars Valesius, Puteanus, Sarrau and Bochart.

of Arius, the anti-trinitarian, and for Iamblichus' *Chronicon Babyloniacum*.⁶ Thus, in her two first Academies of 1650–1653, Christina was to develop an interest in a) the Babylonian, Egyptian, and Hebraic background of the Bible, together with a search for an accurate chronology, b) the Neo-Platonic thinking of Iamblichus and Proclus, together with interpretations of the ancient prophetic texts.

The earliest learned foreigners to appear at Christina's court had been German linguists trained in the neo-Stoic tradition of Justus Lipsius at the University of Leiden. Their studies emphasized the application of Greek science to mechanics, military engineering and tactics, *raison d'état*, and neo-Stoic ethics.⁷ During his travels on the continent, the Uppsala Chancellor Johan Skytte had made contacts with G. J. Vossius at Leiden and his son Isaac Vossius was persuaded to come to Stockholm to sort out the booty from Prague. Through his persistent letter-writing, Isaac in turn brought in his scholarly friends. The first foreigner to be given a chair at Uppsala, however, was Johannes Loccenius (1598–1677). In 1642, Johan Freinsheimsius (1608–1660) came from Strasbourg, and in 1647, the Neo-Stoic classicists Heinrich Boecler and Johannes Schaeffer (1621–1670).⁸ While Loccenius and Schaeffer stayed on in Uppsala, the others had left by 1651. In 1648–49, a group of Christian hebraists arrived: Christian Ravius (1613–1677), Isaac Vossius, and Hiob Ludolf (1624–1704); their interest centered around oriental languages and Latin and Greek studies.⁹ Isaac's friend Nicolas Heinsius (1620–1681) worked on a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. They made travels on the continent commissioned to obtain manuscripts for Christina's growing library. Materials from G. J. Vossius' and Melchior Goldast's libraries as well as from Paul Petain's, Cardinal Mazarin's, and the Orientalist Gilbert Gaulmin's collections arrived as a result of their searches.¹⁰

René Descartes (1596–1650) came in October 1649; he had

⁶ Johan Nordström (1940), p. 337. Christian Callmer, *Königin Christina Ihre Bibliotekare und Ihre Handschriften* 1977, p. 158.

⁷ Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Modern State* 1982, p. 109.

⁸ Johan Nordström (1940), p. 332.

⁹ In 1651, Ravius and Vossius were interested in Arnold de Boot's comments on Capell's *Septuaginta Theologia Sacra*. Christina also wanted a copy of Cappell's work. On 2 July 1686, Vossius' *De Septuaginta Interpretibus* (1661) was set on Index. Nordström, box 11. Uppsala UB.

¹⁰ F. F. Blok, *Nicolas Heinsius in dienst van Kristina van Zweden* 1949. F. F. Blok, *Contributions to the History of Isaac Vossius's Library* 1974. Harald Wieselgren, "Drottning Kristinas Bibliotek och Bibliotekarier före hennes bosättning i Rom" 1901.

chosen a particularly bad time of the year to travel. He disdained the time wasted at the court on linguistics and philology. In 1650, the medical doctor and theorist of Law and State Hermann Conring (1606–1681) stayed at the court for three months where he was appointed special agent for international law. He wrote a tract proving the Swedish rights to the free city of Bremen.¹¹ Claude Saumaise, linguist and poly-historian, spent one of his last years in Sweden in 1650–51. The Queen's librarian (after Freinshemius and Vossius), the state theorist Gabriel Naudé, came in 1651, fleeing the Paris Fronde to a secure place after having been librarian at Mazarin's famous public collection in Paris.¹² This was the beginning of a new French Libertine influence on the meetings. The French poet Marc Antoine de Saint-Amant visited Sweden for three months in 1650–51 to represent the interests of Elisabeth, the ex-Queen of Bohemia and found time to work on his epos *Moïse sauvée*.¹³ The art dealer and iconographic engraver Michel Le Blon also made his appearance on the scene. He was a useful contact with Amsterdam where he worked as a book-illustrator.¹⁴ Having been invited in 1650 the oriental linguist Samuel Bochart (1599–1667) arrived in 1652 and offered to Christina a copy of his *Hierozoicon*—a work on the animals mentioned in the Bible. With Bochart, and adding to the French circle, came the young philosopher and theologian Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721) who edited a commentary of Origen on the gospel of St. Matthew, and Raphael Trichet du Fresne (1611–1661) art historian and numismatic scholar, who edited Leonardo da Vinci's tractate on painting.¹⁵ In a period of a few years, there were some forty to fifty Frenchmen at the court, and there were Italian musicians and actors for the many plays.

In 1653, Bourdelot renewed the academy. The Hellenist studies were mixed with libertine speculation and criticism, thus continuing a tradition with Bourdelot's friends in Hotel de Condé in Chantilly in the 1630s.¹⁶ His presence enraged several of the Stockholm scholars such as the German theoretician of ancient music Marcus Meibom (1621–1711), as well as Bochart and Heinsius. These tensions as well as the fight between Saumaise

¹¹ Hermann Conring (1606–1681) *Ein Gelehrter der Universität Helmstedt*. Ausstellung der Herzog August Bibliotek, Wolfenbüttel 1981. p. 64 ff, item 75.

¹² J. V. Rice *Gabriel Naudé 1600–1653* 1939. For comments on Christina's academy see also J. A. Clarke, *Gabriel Naudé, 1600–1653* 1970.

¹³ Saint-Amant, *Oeuvres Complets*.

¹⁴ H. de la Fontaine Verway, "Michel Le Blond, graveur, kunsthandelaar, diplomaat" in *Drukkers, liefhebbers en piraten in de zeventiende eeuw* 1980, pp. 103–128.

¹⁵ Leon Tolmer, *Pierre-Daniel Huet, Humaniste—Physicien* 1949.

¹⁶ Harcourt Brown, *Scientific Organizations in France (1620–1680)* 1934.

and Vossius over an unpaid debt to Saumaise's son, that led to Vossius' departure, have generated many anecdotes about and ill will towards the conditions at the court.¹⁷ It is disturbing that Saumaise worked out a complete code for his correspondence with over a hundred items, including codes for "intercept", "secret", "enemy", "dangerous", "affront", "anger", "jealousy", and "esteem", together with a coding for the names of Swedish courtiers, French and Dutch scholars, and the various categories of servants at the court. The coding (I have only been able to locate two letters, from Bourdelot to Saumaise, that seem to use it) indicates that the antagonisms among the scholars were based in their varying political allegiances. The anecdotes about the fights at court emanate mostly from one source, the scattered remarks in the vast correspondence of Nicolas Heinsius who particularly disliked Saumaise and Bourdelot. Even after Christina's departure for Brussels in 1655, he wrote to warn her that no matter to what occult places and on what clandestine roads Bourdelot promised that his doctrines lead, only the *via clara*, the serious learning, will bring an immortal name. Heinsius comments do, however, give a view of the liveliness of the atmosphere at the court, as expressed for example by Bourdelot's attempt to have Meibom perform the Pyrric dances on which he discoursed.

Although amusing, in fact the incidents were few. Informal sessions, studies, and discussions could still be held. There was a great number of scholars who wrote offering to assist with their knowledge. They include important figures such as J. G. Gronovius, Isaac Herault, Samuel Sorbière, and Jean Chapelain. The praise reached heights when, to aid Cromwell in his plans to join England and Sweden in a naval alliance, Marvell wrote that Christina was worthy to rule the whole universe. Milton applauded her when he heard that she sided with the English revolutionaries against the tract written by Saumaise decrying the regicide of Charles I. Pascal claimed that few could so well combine monarchical power and scientific learning, and sent the Queen the design for his computing machine.¹⁸

¹⁷ Magnus O. Celsius (1751), Johan Arckenholtz (1751), Rene Pintard (1943), originating mostly throughout Nicolas Heinsius' correspondence, Pieter Burmann ed. *Sylloge epistolarum* 1727. For a sharp attack on Christina's way of managing her library, see Heinsius' biographer F. F. Bloks' review of Christian Callmer (1977), *Querendo* 1980 pp. 70–77.

¹⁸ Chiffre de Claude Saumaise, Fonds Francais 4471 f. 251. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. The panegyrical presentations in Arckenholz (1751) Vol. II, Appendices. For Pascal's royalist flattery of Christina see Francis X. J. Coleman, *Neither Angel nor Beast* 1986. pp. 80–81, 160, 227.

Theological Linguistics: Taxonomy, Relativism, Nationalism

The significance of what was being done at the court can best be seen in the attitudes these scholars reflect of their larger scholarly context. At Stockholm in the 1650s, linguistics was a practical method for uncovering theological meanings and included philology for the sake of precision in texts, translations of unknown manuscripts, and practical hermeneutics on the Bible. A symptomatic example of the task can be seen in Huet's letter to Vossius in 1660 where the interpretation of generation in Luke 3:38 is discussed. By comparing both Hebrew and Greek variants Huet hopes to understand the sense of Adam's status as *quasi Dei filius*.¹⁹ But in the background of this meticulous task loomed a larger intention by which historical generic studies of languages were directly tied to a biblical quest for the origin of speech. The key to the restoration was the structural homology between the texts based on the belief that it was possible to translate the correct message into other languages from the original. But then the original language must be known and the translations must transparently convey the original message.

Grammatical study in the classical age, recently popularized by Noam Chomsky as the period of Cartesian linguistics, culminated in a rationalist project for a universal character and grammar. But the abstracted studies that led to the rationalist program exhibited in the famous Jansenist *Port-Royal Grammar* (1661), was paralleled by historico-genetic studies by comparative linguists. While it did succeed in adding empirical knowledge to natural history and geography, it became more and more evident throughout the century that the program for comparativist study had exhausted its methods in producing lexica and grammars for foreign tongues. Premised on the biblical image of Babel and the destruction of the monoglot Adamic Language, linguistic comparativism in its first step led to radically new interpretations of the historical genealogy of the European peoples. Then in turn the exhaustion of these mainly nationalistic projects led to a general scepticism towards the theory of theological linguistics itself, leaving the Universal linguistic ground open for variants of the rationalist program.²⁰

Thinkers of the period believed that the story of Babel in Genesis

¹⁹ Pierre-Daniel Huet to Isaac Vossius, 10 December 1661. Ms. in Amsterdam UB. Copy in Bodleian libr. Oxford, Ms. D'Orville 469, II, p. 28. Reprinted in De Thiaudet, *Dissertation en diverses matière de religion et de philologie* 1714.

²⁰ Noam Chomsky, *Cartesian Linguistics*. 1966. For the accurate history of linguistics see Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel—Geschichte der Meinungen über*

11:1–9 made perfect sense. With ingenuity the language of Adam, in which things were named according to their essence unadulterated by the confusion of Babel, could be recovered. Adam had known the order of things; he was therefore able to see their difference and could give everything its name—a name corresponding exactly to its place in the correct taxonomic nomenclature. In line with this argument, the well-known Czech didactic Amos Comenius developed a total millenarian scheme with an attempt to establish a Pan-Glottia, a language in which the real structure of knowledge could be set out. When this real structure was completely known, as proclaimed in the Testaments, it would last only a short time before the final end of history.

Theological linguistics as practiced since the Reformation originated in the belief of Jewish Kabbalists and Hebraizing neo-Platonists that God's word was stated in Hebrew and that its particular power in naming things had resulted in a fixed, once and for all acquired creation. Biblical exegesis was related to a whole ordered field of parallel phenomena in cosmology, geographic chronology, theology, natural physics, medicine, and general mathematics. To restore the original Divine order before Babel, essential to the fulfillment of God's plan, thinkers held it necessary to spread God's word in all tongues and to all peoples. The Hebraic interest of linguistic scholars thus was not just a purely missionary Biblicalism, it was instead a millenarian project. Because of the confusion of Babel it was the historical task of the Church to restore order through exactly reproducing the word of God in all languages.²¹

Since the Reformation, there had been considerable doubt that the Latin Bible text of *Versio Vulgata* was correct. In particular, the Calvinists argued that it was inaccurate. This debate also reached Sweden. The translation and new production of Bibles at Stockholm was symptomatic of the larger linguistic theory. The surest way to spread the biblical text in its original form while the Adamic tongue was still pending was to present the text simultaneously in

Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker 1960 esp. Band III/1. Daniel Droixie, *La Linguistique et l'appel de l'histoire (1600–1800)* 1978. M. M. Slaughter, *Universal Languages and Scientific Taxonomy in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge University Press 1982.

²¹ Arno Borst (1960) III/1 chapter 4, pp. 1263–1394, and for a general view of linguistics in the French classical age, see Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things—An Archeology of the Human Sciences*. Vintage Press, New York 1970. Also, Allison Coudert, “Some theories of a Natural Language from the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century” in *Studio Leibnitiana* Sonderheft 7, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1978, pp. 56–114. David S. Katz, “The language of Adam in the Seventeenth Century” 1984, pp. 132 ff.

different languages. Thus, under Christina's reign, the Hebraist Elias Terserus started a production of a new, accurate Latin Bible-text, and he also produced a polyglot version of Genesis.²² The project came to an end in 1649 when Brian Walton (1600–1661) produced in England a polyglot Bible constructed on a newly discovered pre-Vulgate text.²³ But other biblical projects were also undertaken. Isak Rothovius' Finnish Bible of 1632 was reedited as a Christina Bible in 1642.²⁴ A Lappish translation of selected biblical texts appeared in 1648 under the name *Manductio Lapponica*.²⁵ The work on translation increased the understanding of the affinities between the northern languages: Amos Comenius was one of the first to discover the close kinship between Finnish and Hungarian. Johannes Schaeffer saw similarities between Finnish and Lappish, and interest in the Lappish language spread as there was a lively debate on its origin.²⁶ Another sign of the interest in the spread of a correct biblical text is Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel's offer to Christina in 1653 to let her patronize a critical edition of a Spanish Bible and a new edition of the Talmud.²⁷ And fitting the idea of the necessity to disperse God's text over the world, in New Christina, the Swedish colony in Delaware, Johannes Jonae Holm worked out in 1643–1648 a Catechism in the Indian tribal tongue where he claimed that there were affinities between it and Hebrew.²⁸

But disseminating God's word was not enough. The attention to translations intensified the comparative study of grammatical and phonemic forms leading to a historiography of language linked to biblical history, and by God's creative power in that history, to particular views on the progress of natural history. With the neo-Platonic Christian interest in Kabbalist Hebrew studies beginning in the sixteenth century, scholars first assumed—although no explicit reference to it is stated in the biblical text—that the most ancient tongue spoken by Adam must have been Hebrew. But various results of systematic comparison of oriental languages brought forward certain relativizing findings. Several linguists

²² Christina—en Europeisk kulturpersonlighet 1966. p. 123 no. 164, 165 and 115 ff.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 115.

²⁴ *Ibid.* no. 154, p. 121.

²⁵ Sten Lindroth (1975), Vol. II.

²⁶ G. Bonfante, "Ideas on the Kinship of European Languages from 1200 to 1800" *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* I 1953–54 pp. 679–699.

²⁷ Arckenholtz (1751), vol I. p. 304

²⁸ Thomas Campanius Holm, *Kort beskrivning om provinzen Nya Sverige uti Amerika*. Stockholm 1702. Translated by Peter S. Du Ponceau, *Description of the Province of New Sweden Now Called, By the English, Pennsylvania, in America*. Philadelphia 1834, Kraus reprint Co. Millwood, New York 1975.

started to regard Hebrew as just one language in a family of Semitic origin. From 1630 to 1650, intense study was made of Coptic, Ethiopian, and Egyptian showing that they were related languages and probably older than Hebrew. Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680) put forward this thesis in his *Prodromus Coptus* (1636) and his *Lingua Aegyptica restituta* (1643).²⁹ Similar work was done by the linguists that came to the Stockholm court. Christian Ravius in his *A General Grammar for the Ready Attaining of the Hebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic and the Ethiopian Languages, with a Pertinent Discourse on the Oriental Tongues* (1648) had been the first to put forward the idea of a Semitic family of languages.³⁰ Samuel Bochart in his *Geographica Sacra* (1646) argues that although Gen. 2:23 shows that the Old Testament was written in Hebrew, it is more likely on phonetic grounds that Phoenician is more ancient and therefore its original.³¹ We know that Christina read the two parts of Bochart's book, *Phaleg* and *Canaan*, and that she in 1653 allotted a two day discussion to its ideas on the northern spread of tribes after Babylon and on the languages in the Phoenician colonies.³² Later, Hiob Ludolf studied Ethiopian and claimed in his study *Grammatica Aethiopica* (1661) that it was the ancestor of the conjectured Semitic family.³³ These relativizing ideas led to a tendency to desacralize the biblical pronouncements: How could Hebrew be the singular, sacred, and original language? How could its mythic attributes hold true?

The comparativist linguists seldom brought their doubts to a full scepticism concerning the biblical tradition. But more systematic objections to the reading of the biblical text were first reached by thinkers who denied the rational validity of religion as traditionally practised. The two Jewish Bible critics of Amsterdam, Uriel da Costa (c:a 1590–1640) and Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), were exceptions in radically denying the special status of the Jewish people in biblical history and in questioning the divine origin of Hebrew.³⁴ They held that languages, and also Hebrew, were a

²⁹ Daniel Droixie (1978), pp. 37–40.

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 38.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 38, 47.

³² Leon Tolmer (1949) p. 159. In other places Bourdelot has been portrayed as using a laxative on the Queen to prevent her from communicating with the very pious Bochart. Still, Christina supported Bochart's work on the animals of the Bible, his *Hierozooicon sive de animalibus Scripturae Sanctae*. Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. I p. 250. See also Leon Tolmer (1949) where Bocharts' image of the unicorns are reproduced, based on walrus craniums from Greenland.

³³ Daniel Droixie (1978) p. 39.

³⁴ Leo Strauss, *Spinoza and the Critique of Religion*. New York 1965.

non-divine, human development. Independently of one another, they were excommunicated from the Amsterdam Synagogue for making their claims. In the *Tractatus* (1670), Spinoza formulated the rationalist doctrine that it is the things represented in language (res . . . significatae) that are divine, not the words (verba, quibus res significantur) in which these things are stated. The rationalist Spinoza argued that the more geometric working out of the logical structure of knowledge should be substituted for the quest for an Adamic language.³⁵

This textual criticism and relativistic approach to language study in relation to theology was paralleled by attempts to construe new accounts of the genesis of languages while saving the outlines of the biblical method. The relativist doctrine that Hebrew was just one language in a family of others, opened the possibilities for a new line of ancestry. Not Hebrew but some other tongue in existence could be the most ancient one. Comparative linguists sought new roots and lines of descent, in which languages other than the Semitic played a role. Through comparative study, several linguists who convened at the Stockholm court, among them Christian Ravius, Claude Saumaise, and Samuel Bochart, saw similarities between German and Persian, opening the possibility that a Germanic root for all European languages existed.³⁶ In his *De Hellenistica Commentarius* (1643), Saumaise postulated the existence of a Scythic nomadic tribe speaking Persian that was the ancestor of the European languages.³⁷ These developments were based on comparison of grammatical structure and sound change in declination of stems, and although frequently based on arbitrary likenesses, the results were often striking. Tacitus in his *Germania* had shown that the Latin and Germanic tribes were of different culture and ancestry. According to biblical history (Gen. 10:1–3) and the Alexandrian legend of the northern dispersion of the tribes Gog and Magog, there was a line from Noah's son Japhet over Gomer and Ashkenaz to the Scyths and the Goths.³⁸ Thus in 1665, Franciscus Junius (1589–1677), uncle of Isaac Vossius, argued from the Ulphila's *Codex Argenteus* brought to Leiden by Vossius from Christina's library, that Ulphila Gothic was the ancestor of Anglo-Saxon, French, and German, and through Cimbric to the Scandinavian languages.³⁹

³⁵ H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden—von . . . 1618 bis zum . . . 1750*. Leipzig 1898.

³⁶ Arno Borst (1960), p. 1309.

³⁷ Daniel Droixie (1978), p. 53.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 90.

³⁹ Sten Lindroth (1975) Vol. II, pp. 272–274.

Some recent linguistic archeologists have argued that there has been a dramatic and falsifying shift away from the “ancient model” in the modern understanding of the history of the Greeks. They make use of the fact that in classical times, the Greeks themselves believed that the origins of their culture lay in Egypt or in older Chaldean kingdoms. Through Semitic speaking Phoenicians and Anatolians—Thucydides’ “Pelasgians”—the ancient heritage was handed over to the Greeks before Homeric times. In his *Black Athena—The Fabrication of Ancient Greece, 1785–1985* (London 1987), Martin Bernal has conjectured that the Hermetic myth, of a succession of ancient masters with Moses learning the secrets of creation in Egypt, frequently used in the syncretist culture of Alexandria, is only a condensed expression of this historiography. It was first with the German classicism of Winkelmann and the nineteenth century rise of Sanskrit studies in European universities that the Oriental background to classical culture was suppressed, and one instead saw the importance of Greece in its Apollinic and Eurocentric “Aryan” origins. Almost as if he had been present at Christina’s court, Bernal boldly argues that we could recover “the ancient model” by excavating the frequent occurrence of Semitic lexical stems in the Greek classical language of religion, cult and myth.⁴⁰ Mid-seventeenth-century orientalists and philologists, such as G. J. Vossius, Samuel Bochart and Claude Saumaise, were not guided by the modern Apollinic ideal. Their work on comparative religion instead draws upon the sources for the ancient model, and while they revise the Adamic model of Hebrew monoglossism, other Semitic cultural impulses are investigated. As Isaac Vossius’ *De Sibyllinis* (1680) and Pierre-Daniel Huet’s *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679) show, the syncretist movements in Oriental-Hellenistic Alexandria remained the center of attention.

One root of the shift in the ancient model on the transmission of knowledge was instead the reevaluation of the cultural importance of the so-called barbaric nations. The search for roots and origins was part of a nationalist programme, as northerners searched for reasons for their rapid ascent to political power. In Sweden under Gustavus Adolphus’ reign, it had been argued that Sweden, whose national political power seemed invincible, had a cultural ancestry that justified its imperial plans. The Swedish claims were quite extreme. In 1554, Olaus Magnus argued on ancient precedence that Japhet’s second son Magog had been ancestor to a Scythic

⁴⁰ Martin Bernal, *Black Athena—The Afro-Asiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*. Vol. I. Free Association Books, London 1987. pp. 77–83, 163–169.

tribe directly linked to the history of the Swedish and Gothic Kings. Gustavus Adolphus' teacher Johannes Bureus (1568–1652) added that the Swedes were the ancient legendary tribe of the Hyperboreans.⁴¹ Bureus, in his *Runekänslans Lärospän* (1599), argued for the antiquity of the Rune inscriptions, and by adding evidence in his *Specimen Primariae Linguae Scantriana* (1636), he derived a grammar for this ancient Germanic language.⁴² Olof Verelius (1618–1682), linguist at Uppsala, widened the scope of the view and found connections between the antiquity of Runes, Gothic, and the history of Europe. He identified the Swedes with the Goths at the sack of Rome.⁴³ Queen Christina believed in this historical argument as shown when, in 1651, in the face of an exaggerated panegyric on the glorious history of the Swedes from a visiting Italian orator, she said that she regretted the gruesome history of her ancestors at Rome.⁴⁴ In 1646, a Spanish diplomat Diego Saavedro Fajardo presented her with a special edition of his *Corona Gothicæ Castillana y Austriaca*. By referring to a Historia Gothica from 1243 and using arguments from Jordanes and Isidor of Seville, he argued that the Castilian Habsburgs and the Scandinavian Royalty have the same Gothic blood. Jordanes had shown that the Goths had left "Scanza" for their exploits and thus their conjoined momentum had flowed in the veins of Emperor Charles V. One must now expect these crowns to meet in a reunion "ex mutuo sanguine Gothico".⁴⁵

In the early 1670s, at the height of Swedish nationalism, this Gothic founding of the Swedish imperial experience led the followers of Junius to propose extensive theories showing that Old Nordic has affinities with the Germanic languages, Anglo-Saxon, Frisian, Flemish, and through Franco-Gaul to Spanish, Italian, Latin and Greek.⁴⁶ Under the absolute reign of Charles XI, nationalist history became institutionalized doctrine and in Uppsala one started to translate Emmanuele Tesauro's *Regno d'Italia sotto i Barbari* (1664). Gothicism had become a prerequisite for successful bureaucratic ascent.⁴⁷ In 1671, Georg Stiernhielm, by then president of the

⁴¹ Johan Nordström, *De Yverbornas Ö* 1930.

⁴² Daniel Droixie (1978), p. 118.

⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 120.

⁴⁴ Isaac Vossius to Vincente Ferrario, 4 May 1651, concept book 8, F28 Amsterdam UB. Arckenholtz (1751) II, Appendix xxxiii. Also, *Christina—en Europeisk kulturpersonlighet* 1966. p. 155 ff.

⁴⁵ Ms. H 287, Uppsala UB. Johan Nordström, "Goter och Spanjorer II" in *Lychnos* 1979.

⁴⁶ Daniel Droixie (1978), p. 122.

⁴⁷ Ms. H 303, Uppsala UB.

College of Antiquities in Stockholm, published *Evangelia ab Ulfila Gotharum*, in one series of works based on studies in Ulfila Gothic in which he argued that Old Nordic and Latin had a common root—namely, Hebrew. His idea had grown out of his early view that the Gothic and the Hebrew were closely related. It was presented to Christina in his *Magog Arameico-Gothicus* (1643).⁴⁸ Stiernhielm's biblico-genetic theory assured him that Noah and his son Japhet were absent from the building of the tower of Babel, thus indicating that Old Nordic was ancient and that Hebrew had two stems going through Aramaic and through Scytho-Japhetic to the newly found Nordic. He placed Hebrew grouped in a Semitic family with Arabic, Syrian, etc. All the other ancient European languages were generated along with Persian through the Scytho-Japhetic that now was closest to Old-Nordic. Great possibilities for rewriting history were thus opened.⁴⁹

Swedish nationalist linguistics was paralleled by similar attempts of other emerging nation states to fill the vacuum in Roman historiography. Goropius Becanus (1518–1572) of the Netherlands argued for the primogenesis of Batavian, the German Ludwig Prasch (1637–1690) did the same for Teutonic. The Britons spun a wealth of Celto-Gothic lore.⁵⁰ In France, Gilles Menage (1613–1692), who Christina befriended in Paris in 1656, published his *Origines de la langue française* (1650) in which he argued for a Gothic root through the Celts and the Gauls to the Romanic languages. He thereby claimed a prime French ancestry to Latin.⁵¹ Christina was by nature a political thinker and probably took this varied news with calm. A picture of her attitude is amply given in the memoirs of Menage where he relates that when the ex-Queen in Paris overheard a conversation on his work, she jestingly said to him: "Non seulement M. Menage veut savoir d'où vient un mot, mais encore où il va."⁵²

The debate continued. If the ancestral line of languages took routes other than earlier supposed, this could also account for the

⁴⁸ Arno Borst (1960) pp. 1335–1337, Daniel Droixie (1978), p. 120–121.

⁴⁹ The English Ambassador Whitelocke 22 April 1654 wrote about Uppsala: "It is for this reason called Upsal, because Ubbo—who, they say, was the son of Gomer, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah—this Ubbo built this town upon the river Sale, and therefore called it after his own name, Ubbosale, by contraction of speech now called Upsal." Bulstrode Whitelocke, *A Journal of the Swedish Embassy* 1655. Vol. I, p. 150.

⁵⁰ G. Bonfante, *C. d'Hist. Mo.* (1954). Samuel Kliger, *The Goths in England*. Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1952.

⁵¹ Daniel Droixie (1978), p. 97.

⁵² Gilles Menage, *Menagiana* 4 vol. Paris 1729. Vol. II, p. 357.

existence of tribes seemingly unrelated to European man. The problem arose of what place to allot the Lapps, and to the inhabitants of Polynesia and America. The Dane Olaus Borch (1626–1690) commented on the theory of Biblical history in his *De causis diversitatis linguarum dissertatio* (1675). He saw Scandinavia as an important link in the migration eastward. Borch also had contacts with two other early anthropologists.⁵³ Defending a mono-genetic theory, Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) argued that the inhabitants of America had travelled from Greenland over to the new continent.⁵⁴ Isaac La Peyrière's poly-genetic theory on men before Adam had been preceded by his studies at Copenhagen of Greenlandic conditions, and he daringly promised an explanation in terms of a distinct, non-Adamic, ancestry of the Indians.⁵⁵ Others concluded that they could in fact correspond to the lost Ten Tribes of Israel and still be speaking a Hebrew variant from before the confusion of Babel.

Finally, in 1675, as a culmination of nationalist linguistics in Scandinavia, the architect, botanist, and discoverer of the lymphatic tracts, Olof Rudbeck (1630–1672) published a new interpretation of linguistico-mythic history, taking his cues from the story of a sunken Atlantis in Plato's *Critias*. Cartographic evidence showed that Sweden was the Atlantis spoken of by Plato as lying beyond the pillars of Hercules at the Straits of Gibraltar. At the dispersion of Babel two groups were driven to the west where they formed the Celto-Romanic and the Greek tribes. But apart from these well-known developments, there was also a third lost tribe, the Japheto-Scythic, which migrated to the north and whose remnants now were found in Sweden and were remembered mythically in the story of Atlantis. Rudbeck's crucial suggestion was that the ancient name of Sweden "Kallegau", not known on the Continent before the time of Alexander the Great, was through conquest the cause of France being called Gallia. The same events caused the naming of Gallo-Graeca and Gallia Cis-Alpina and therefore also "of Gallatae in Asia Minor to which the Apostle Paul wrote his epistle". The precise route of these wanderings has been lost since one has called all the Kalli: "Celts".⁵⁶

⁵³ Daniel Droixie (1978), p. 120. Jan Agrell (1955), p. 55.

⁵⁴ Don Cameron Allen, *The Legend of Noah* 1949. Leon Poliakov. See also *The Arvan Myth—A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*. Sussex Univ. Press 1974. p. 133.

⁵⁵ Richard H. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrière—His Life, Writings and Influence* 1987. Chapter III, p. 110 ff.

⁵⁶ Olof Rudbeck, *Atland eller Mannheim* 1679–1701, reprinted in 4 vols. Lychnos

The four volume work *Atlantica sive Mannheim vera Japheti posterorum sedes ac patria* (1675) accomplished the task of reconciling new won territories in the Baltic imperium with the nation's self-understanding as stemming from an ancient and primal tribe. In turn, the linguistic method of comparison and search for similarities in diachronic sound change had been stretched beyond its limits. Swedish historiography and linguistics had taken on a mythic and propagandistic tone.

Following a common line in comparativism, in his *Babel Destructa* Stiernhielm finally projected an elaborate universal language on the model of Ulphila Gothic.⁵⁷ Leibniz' comparative studies likewise culminated in a rationalist systematic search for the deep structure of the original language, and he came to hold that a study of Chinese ideographs was ideal for this purpose. Leibniz thought that the Chinese calligraphic script could provide an artificial mapping of his long sought *Characteristica Universalis*.⁵⁸ The ideographs provided signs uncluttered by sound content that had extensive possibilities for combination, and so retained communicative diversity. Athanasius Kircher had on similar grounds settled on working out a general system of polygraphs on the pattern of hieroglyphs.⁵⁹ In 1689, just before Leibniz's correspondence on China with the Italian Jesuit Father Grimaldi, Leibniz visited Rome. He could not as planned meet Christina because of her sudden death, but he could use her library.⁶⁰

bibliotek, Uppsala 1937. Vol. I, p. 524. Johan Nordstrom (1930) shows its growth from Bureus' *Scanzia* speculation. See below n. 67.

⁵⁷ Sten Lindroth (1975), p. 268. Daniel Droixie (1970).

⁵⁸ Leibniz to Father Bouvet, 1703: "... Chinese characters are perhaps more philosophical and seem to be built on more intellectual considerations, such as are given by numbers, orders, and relations; thus there are only detached strokes that do not culminate in some resemblances to a sort of body." Quoted in Jacques Derrida *Of Grammatology*, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore 1974. p. 79. This would be the detachment of the sign from voice and speech by a non-phonetic arbitrariness, a de-poetizing formalization; and yet it is an outcome of a myth—the myth of God's original script.

⁵⁹ George E. McCracken "Athanasius Kircher's Universal Polygraphy" *Isis* 1948 pp. 215–228. Comp. David E. Mungolo, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*. Studia Leibnitiana Supplementa. Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH. Stuttgart 1985. pp. 174–207.

⁶⁰ Andre Robinet, *G. W. Leibniz Iter Italicum (Mars 1689–Mars 1690) — la dynamique de la République des Lettres*. Accademia Toscana di Scienze e lettere. Firenze 1988. pp. 176–177. Leibniz had to cancel his planned meeting with Christina, "car j'étais fâché de voir qu'elle allait mourir justement quand j'allais à Rome". Leibniz to Sophie Charlotte of Prussia, early April 1689 in *Leibniz Briefe und Aufsätze*. Berlin 1954 1:5, p. 410.

Christina Alexandra, Linguistics, and the Goths

The activities at Christina's library also formed part of her self-image as a young Queen. In Rome, Christina ordered a copy of Rudbeck's *Atlantica* for her library, but declined his offer to dedicate the second volume to her. She replied that she would not accept as dedication the seond volume of anything. Instead, part two of the *Atlantica* now bears the name of Charles XI, apparently Rudbeck's second choice.⁶¹ Still, Christina was raised on the theories about the special position of her ancestry and her father's projected missionary qualities. The prophetic fate of her father was underpinned by the new evidence showing her roots to the Goth Theodoric the Great. By combining the antiquity of the Swedish language with non-Roman history one thus showed her national culture no longer to be an insignificant barbaric tradition; it was produced by a authochthonous and self-generating people to whom Postel's famous prophecy of the "Gallim"—those saved from the Flood—well could apply. (The lineage was fictional, the Wasas can, in fact, only claim a glorious maternal descent from Gorm the Old, the ninth century Dane.)

In 1647, Christina sent Hiob Ludolf to Rome to find the sources of Johannes Magnus' *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Svenumque Regibus* (1544) which had started the nationalist Gothic trend. To their disappointment, Ludolf could not find any such material either in Rome or in Ravenna.⁶² The engraver Matthias Palbitzky's trips to Spain and Gibraltar in 1649–1652, and then again in 1653 were steps in Christina's desire to collect Gothic inscriptions from Spain. In 1648, she had sent him to draw designs from Lower Egypt, and as his drawings show, he believed that he had found Alexander's tomb.⁶³ The Queen's stated intention in 1652 of sending the artist Peter Coyet to Constantinople was possibly part of a desire to collect material also from the eastern Goths preceding Theodoric's western reign at Ravenna. Christina's collection in Rome contained

⁶¹ G. Claretta *Cristina di Svezia in Italia 1655–1689*. Turin 1892 Letter XLVI, 20 July 1686, p. 439. See also the peculiar frontispieces of *Atland eller Mannheim 1679–1702* Uppsala 1937, including the Uppsala Tree of Japhet that has shed its apples all over the world, being a stem from the marvellous Grape of Jesus that sprinkles its wine from Jerusalem. The revealing endpiece is a wreath with the insignia "Through the Pen lives the Sword".

⁶² Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. I, p. 267.

⁶³ Wilhelm Nisser, "Matthias Palbitsky som connoisseur och tecknare" *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift* 1934:2 pp. 1–154.

a fair number of Gothic manuscripts including the codexes of Law and the royal lineage of the Visigoths.⁶⁴

In 1680, Jakob Sparwenfeldt was sent on an official Swedish journey to seek Gothic texts in France, Spain, Greece, and Rome. Christina wrote him a pass-letter for going to Naples to study Sveo-Gothic roots related to Spanish remains of “sangue Gothico & Lombarda”.⁶⁵ She also referred him to monuments with inscriptions that she held to be Runes. However, Sparwenfelt could identify them as Etruscan—which did not hinder him from regarding the ruins at Ravenna as signs of Swedish links to Theodoric the Great.⁶⁶ In this, he followed Rudbeck who following Bureus had tried to prove that the old heathen temple of Uppsala had the same architectural proportions as the classical structures.⁶⁷

The above-described political theology has an important relation to the sceptical crisis that proceeded Christina's abdication in 1654. The Gothic genealogy had given her natural ties to the Spanish Habsburgs that she now could pursue for her own welfare and that of the rest of Europe. The common Gothic stem through both Spaniards and Swedes facilitated her acceptance of Pimentel's Spanish diplomacy. An elegant confirmation of this belief has recently been provided by Arne Danielsson's analysis of Christina's equestrian portrait sent in 1653 to Philip IV in Madrid.⁶⁸ Seated on a horse in flight away from an archipelagic landscape, Christina is

⁶⁴ Christian Callmer, “Queen Christina's Library of printed books in Rome” in Magnus von Platen ed. *Queen Christina—Documents and Studies* 1966, pp. 59–73.

⁶⁵ Sparwenfels pass to Napoli, 1680 in the Waller collection 365, copied in Nordström box 7. Uppsala UB. Carl. V. W. Jacobowsky, *J. G. Sparwenfeld—bidrag till en biografi*. Uppsala Ak. Avh. Stockholm 1932. Leibniz to Sparwenfeldt 6 Dec 1695, Leibniz to D. E. Jablonsky 31 Dec 1695.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 357.

⁶⁷ Johan Nordström (1930) gives the background to Rudbeck's measurements as originating in Bureus' conviction that the Temple structure once built at the Uppsala [6th century] burying mounds was identical to that of the Hyperboreans mentioned in antiquity. Sten Lindroth (1943), pp. 241–243 is helpful in providing the Runic symbols of Bureus' universal acrosticon. The concept strikes me as similar to John Dee's alchemical “Monas Hieroglyphica” discussed by Frances A. Yates and her followers. Dee's symbol incorporates the elementary planetary signs in one symbol, while Bureus' runes signify the notion of the descent and ascent of the Soul and (somehow) God's unity in the heathen trinity of Odin, Thor, and Frey—a trinitarian unity Schaeffer (1664) thought to derive from the Phoenicians.

⁶⁸ The negotiators at Westphalia, Johan Adler-Salvius and Diego Saavedro Fajardo continued their friendship, see Johan Nordström, “Goter och Spanjorer II” *Lychnos* 1979. For some other leads into the relevance of Gothic Spanish diplomacy, see Sven-Ingmar Olofsson, *Efter Westfaliska freden* 1957. “Only Christina abolished the distances . . . in the common Gothic nation”. p. 513. Arne Danielsson, “Sebastien Bourdon's Equestrian Portrait of Queen Christina of Sweden

surrounded by three dogs and a hooded falcon symbolizing fidelity, hope, or perhaps fate. The falcon is carried by the young artist Matthias Palbitzki, who wears the red, blue, and silver of the Swedish weapon heart. The Queen has become Alexander; Palbitzki represents the connection of blood to Spain; the largest dog wears a collar with the barely visible insignia of the Spanish Ambassador Don Antonio Pimentel. The dog's master, as Danielsson convincingly shows, must be standing outside of the frame at the place where the leash of the dog and the compositional lines coalesce. The dogs include a black "dominus canus"—the Dominican confessor Guemes who was to deliver the portrait to Madrid. This self-conscious composition, painted by Sébastien Bourdon, revealed to the initiated that Christina was destined to leave her throne for uncertain exploits under the aegis of the Spanish King. When released from its hood, a falcon will find its prey.

A theological linguist knows that Providence is a majestic factor that determines how each of us will and ought to behave. When, therefore, some extraordinary political event upsets the common order of human relations, it is interpreted as a divine intervention in human affairs. Christina's abdication upset the ordained political plan in the same way as would regicide, usurpation, or generative inability to continue the royal line. Whereas she doubted Providence as an instrument of God's grace, Christina believed in fate—so she stoically claimed with her abdication coin "Fata viam inveniet". She also accepted genetical views that gave her comparable license to act as a divinely ordained monarch, even in absence of a throne. In France, the popular writer George de Scudery used Gothic imagery to present Christina as the Amazon heroine in his cycle, *Alaric, ou Rome vaincus* (1658). By insisting on her ancestral connection to central European royalty, Christina never gave up the idea that she was exclusively sanctioned to alter human affairs at will. This belief was the determining element in her post-abdication politics and does cast doubt on her Catholic image: as one who with total disregard for princely power gives up her own scepter and crown. Late in life Christina wrote in her *Maxims* that "a Queen without a throne is like a God without a temple."⁶⁹ The lore of the ancient roots of her royal status had made her royalist self-devotion entirely obsessive, while in fact she gradually lost all

Addressed to 'his Catholic Majesty Philip IV'. *Konsthistorik Tidskrift* No. 4, 1989. pp. 95–108.

⁶⁹ Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. III, p. 249: "qu'une Reine sans etat etoit comme une Divinité sans temple, à laquelle on cesse bientot offrir des adorations & des sacrifices."

other objective credentials for possessing a real monarchical role. Keen observers in Rome, like the young Swedish artist Tessin, could discern the reason for her pathos. He found in Christina “une ambition dimesurer sous la robe d'un philosoph, un pelerin qui avec son bourdon aspirait à une monarchie universelle.”⁷⁰

⁷⁰ *Tessiniana*, Riksarkivet, Stockholm. I am grateful to Arne Wettermark for this information.

CHAPTER SEVEN

NEO-STOIC PAN-PROTESTANTS AND THE MONARCHY

As a royalist philosopher, Leibniz surveyed the politics of Europe and also had pronounced views on Christina's career. In a political treatise of 1672, Leibniz attributes Christina's abdication in part to her "religionis libertinismo" and in part to her "vita a conjugio abhorrente" that had stirred the hatred of her people.¹ He says that rumours of her atheism and Papist intrigues led to conspiracies and popular tumult in Stockholm which finally made the abdication inevitable. He later argued that when Christina executed her aid Marquise Monaldescho at Fontainebleau in 1657, she relied on her sovereign rights outside of her proper domain. Her act stirred tremendous controversy, partly because one suspected a crime of passion, partly because the role of an abdicated royalty was not at all clear in contemporary monarchical theory.² Leibniz chose to defend Christina's act by arguing that the juridical problems of transnational sovereignty could be resolved to justify it.³

While his report is at variance with the Catholic statements on the reasons for Christina's abdication, Leibniz was in a position to obtain first hand information. He had close contacts with Protestant political thinkers who had spent time in Sweden, such as Christian van Boineburg, Hermann Conring, and Samuel Pufendorf, and who could report on the intellectual dimensions of Christina's act. As Leibniz claimed, discontent with the Queen had begun to spread. In 1653, an uprising started in the Swedish county of Närke, and after considerable turmoil, nine of its leaders were brought to the gallows in Stockholm. In the wake of this show of

¹ Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Concilium Aegyptiacum* 1671–72, Cap. V. N. 15. "Justa Dissertatio" p. 365, line 20. *Leibniz Briefe und Aufsätze*. Akademie Ausgabe, Darmstadt 1931 4:1.

² *Ibid.* p. 365, line 14.

³ Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *De Jure Suprematus ac Legationis principum Germaniae*. Under pseudonym Caesarinus Fürstenerius, Cap VI, N. I. p. 39. Akademie Ausgabe, Darmstadt 1931 4:2. In his *Tribunal Principis Peregrinantis*, Jean Tesmar argued that her act was unique, and since Christina must be seen as a private person she had plainly acted within the jurisdiction of someone else (the French king's). Leibniz replied that according to the law of travelling monarchs, a sovereign's jurisdiction over ministers was not limited by place, and Christina was still a royalty. The debate is reprinted in Chaussard, *Les Antenors modernes ou voyages de Christine*. Paris 1806. Vol. I, pp. 488 ff, 498–499.

force, a woman of the city began to prophecy the downfall of the Queen and her foreigners.⁴ Nothing indicates that the uprising had support among the nobility, but serious events, amounting to the so called Messenius plot, had preceded this revolt and had rendered the Queen's position fundamentally shaken.

The Protestant world was, in the early part of the century, influenced by new ideologies that attempted to institute a new spirituality in the reformed nation states; these ideas were formed by the so-called Unionists and Pansophists, and there is ample evidence that Christina also was involved with these movements. The beginning of the end to a series of pan-Protestant attempts on her part, was her dismissal of her unionist advisor Bengt Skytte in 1652. The following report on the circumstances surrounding this event forms part of my argument that Christina's abdication was set against active attempts to join northern Europe in a Church union. The continued attempts in England, Germany, and Sweden to create such a Protestant union were a factor building up to the Swedish-Polish war in 1656. Dutch intelligence saw these developments as a threat to free trade with Catholic countries and warned that England and Sweden could become a *Societatem Leoninam* that would keep everyone else within its control.⁵

The Messenius Plot and Bengt Skytte

Only a year after her coronation Christina realized that the opposition she felt from the Oxenstiern faction also existed among groups less easily monitored. In the fall of 1651, the highly spectacular Messenius trial made clear that under cover of a young writer's treason there were plans for Charles Gustavus to usurp the crown.⁶ Johan Messenius' cryptic pamphlets indicated that several Swedes had reacted to the failure of the 1650 Riksdag to reduce noble revenues in Christina's inflationary court proceedings and that Christina's secretly disclosed abdication plans had spread beyond the inner circle of state councillors. The two condemned in the trials were Messenius and his father, the state historiographer, both accused of having composed a pamphlet that brought strange news of the crisis in the state. The accuracy of some of their information

⁴ Christian Molbech, "Peder Juul's otryckte brev till Charisius 1651–1655" *Dansk Historisk Tidskrift* 1:5 1844. pp. 269–408. pp. 346–347n. 349.

⁵ *Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll 1651–53*. Severin Bergh ed. Stockholm 1920. pp. 209 ff. Michael Roberts, *Swedish Diplomats at Cromwell's Court (1655–1656)* 1988. I Feb, 1656, p. 247.

⁶ *SRP*, p. 214.

and the attempted secrecy of the way they had proceeded implied contacts with more powerful men. The pamphlet was styled in verse and among Messenius' embarrassing, but seemingly correct, accusations were that Ebba Brahe practised a "special art" on Christina, that foreign customs brought feudalist oppression over the Swedish peasants, and that the country was waning under the ill treatment of the Virgin Queen. Messenius wrote that Christina was "‘ett tookot’ [fruentimber]"—a crazed woman. He urged the oppressed to rise against their lords and he called on Charles Gustavus to intervene for the sake of the nation.⁷

In the lengthy interrogations, suspicion was cast on Charles Gustavus, on the Queen's advisor Bengt Skytte and his philosopher friend Georg Stiernhielm, on the peasant leader Nils Nilsson, on the theologian Terserus, and on several others. None of them suffered severe punishment, but lingering doubts about their roles remained. People at court were reluctant to express their opinion of the matter as Christina threatened to start a widespread purge. Finally, the two Messenius were charged with Catholic heresy and high treason. They were beheaded, quartered, and mounted on wheels.

All through the affair, Bengt Skytte was absent. He had conveniently gone away for a two-year journey to the Orient without informing the council of his plans. At his return from Constantinople, Skytte was tried. After harsh attacks he was finally freed, but he lost Christina's confidence completely.⁸ Not surprisingly, Skytte continued to be well aligned with the Palatine brothers Charles Gustavus and Adolph Johan. He became well known among the French libertines, and his later adventures show him involved with Stiernhielm's linguistic projects, with unionist plans in collaboration with the King's brother, Adolph Johan, and the Scottish irenist John Dury, as well as with Samuel Hartlib's scientific circles in England to which he presented his plans for a "Sophopolis".

Skytte's imaginative projects gave him a potential for influencing European politics that was impossible for him under Christina's reign because of her reaction to his spreading of rumours about her. On his return from Constantinople, Skytte alleged that his journey had been initiated by the Queen herself and that Messenius had named him only because he was absent and could not meet the charge. Apparently Skytte was believed in many quarters. During his travels, Skytte was closely observed by Habsburg intelligence

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 244–247. Ebba Brahe had been Gustavus Adolphus' mistress.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 353–363.

who suspected action in the Polish question, and the Danish Ambassador Peder Juel's report of May 1652 maintained that Skytte's journey, beginning in June 1651, was meant as a preparation for negotiations with Poland and for setting up relations with the Turks.⁹ The trial record shows, however, that Christina completely denied Skytte's claims. She said that she meant to send the illustrator Peter Coyet to the Orient, but that she had had other plans for him than the self-appointed diplomacy Skytte had exercised.¹⁰ Skytte's journey remains controversial. Recently, two Swedish historians, Anders Gapse and Nils Runeby, have suggested that Skytte may have been right in his claims. They draw attention to the fact that Christina, Charles Gustavus, and Bengt Skytte met in Norrköping just a week before Skytte left for his journey.¹¹

Bengt Skytte, Comenius, and "Sophopolis"

Skytte's Oriental journey involved a potential step for Sweden to join an alliance based on the plans of the Czech didactic Amos Comenius (1592–1670) for restoring Protestant influence in Moravia. Skytte met with Comenius in Sarospatak in Siebenburgen shortly after the royal wedding of Sigismund Rakoscy and Henriette Marie of the Palatinate, daughter of Fredrik the Winterking who in 1620 had challenged Habsburg power in Prague.¹² Comenius' interpretation of the marriage was that their dynastic relation could establish a dynamic union between the house of Palatine and the house of Siebenburgen and thus reinstate the situation in Prague of twenty years earlier.¹³ In his pamphlet *Sermo Secretus Nathanis ad Davidem*, he argued that Sigismund now had a chance to join forces with other Protestant nations to form a "Secta Heroica" or a "Collegium Lucis". Indeed, this union could become as great as Solomon's relation to Hiram of Tyrus and the Queen of Sheba. Who was to be King Tyrus was yet unclear. But the timing was right: Emperor Ferdinand was very old and his son Leopold very

⁹ Christian Molbech, "Peder Juul's otryckte brev til Charisisus 1651–1655". *Dansk Historisk Tidskrift* 1:5 1844. May 1652. Comp. Sven Ingmar Olofsson, *Carl X Gustaf* 1961 p. 243 ff.

¹⁰ *SRP* 1651–53, pp. 354, 361.

¹¹ Anders Gapse "Comenius, Bengt Skytte och Royal Society" *Lychnos* 1936 p. 319–330. Nils Runeby, "Bengt Skytte, Comenius och Abdikationskrisen 1651" *Scandia* 1963, pp. 360–382.

¹² Milada Blekastad, *Comenius* Oslo 1969. Nils Runeby (1963) *passim*, Sven Ingmar Olofsson (1961), p. 243 ff.

¹³ Milada Blekastad (1969), pp. 493–494.

young; thus the Palatine Lion could crush the Eagle.¹⁴ In Comenius' *Schola Pansofica* (1651), also dedicated to Sigismund, he tries to strengthen the prospects for Czech influence by reforming the entire school system in a nationalistic direction—as had already been done in Sweden between 1641 and 1648. When Henriette Charlotte suddenly died just three months after the marriage, the prophetic picture had to change.¹⁵

Skytte reported the events of the marriage to Charles Gustavus and in fact suggested a union between Sweden, France, and Siebenburgen, referring to a 1650 prophecy by the Hungarian Nicolas Drabicus, which later appeared in Comenius's edition *Lux in Tenebris* (1657).¹⁶ The Lion, the Lily, and the Nymph that Comenius had been seeing in union could designate a triplet other than first thought—and yet the aim of the cause could remain the same.¹⁷ The biblical tale of a union between Northern and Eastern powers in the fight against Anti-Christ had been used in the time of Gustavus Adolphus, and now again, in 1651, Skytte was seeing a new Lion in ascendancy, Charles Gustavus.

After Sarospatak, Skytte travelled on to Constantinople where he used a pass-letter from Christina to set diplomatic relations between Sweden and the Turks.¹⁸ When the first official Swedish journey to Constantinople was made by Claes Rålambh in 1655, he reported to Charles Gustavus that Sweden was well known among the Turks due to Skytte's visit, and that in Siebenburgen one still discussed the idea of a Protestant union.¹⁹ We do not know the details of this idea because the dangers of the Messenius trials had made Charles Gustavus and others remove any material that could connect them to the accused. The blatant censorship of Swedish archives in 1651–52 signifies that the scale of the Messenius conspiracy really was more extended than publically admitted, but also bars a definite interpretation of these events. A Swedish-Turkish Peace treaty was of interest because of Swedish plans to open waterways for transit trade from the Baltic down the rivers through Poland and Russia, all the way to Constantinople.²⁰ Channels must be built, contacts cultivated, and alliances against mu-

¹⁴ Sven Ingmar Olofsson (1961), p. 370 ff.

¹⁵ Milada Blekastad, pp. 495–497.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 498–499.

¹⁷ Sven Ingmar Olofsson (1961), p. 370 ff.

¹⁸ Nils Runebäck (1963), Milada Blekastad (1969), p. 507.

¹⁹ Claes Rålambh, *Diarium Under Resa Till Konstantinopel 1657–1658*. Christian Callmer ed. 1963. p. 109–110.

²⁰ The protokol ends in February 1654. On the transit trade see below, note 69.

tual enemies be upheld. The Turks and their religion were no threat to Sweden and although Rålambh thought coffee tasted like burned beans, trade with the east had everything in its favour, even the prospect that the millenarian Orientalist Christian Ravius pushed: to distribute the Bible in Arabic and to the Coptic Christians in Ethiopia so as to “from behind, in time, bring the printed books to the Mohammedans.”²¹

Skytte has such an interesting role in Swedish international relations that one must pause to ask what role Christina’s disfavour of him meant politically and intellectually. He had been Christina’s advisor at a time when he openly supported Johannes Matthiae’s attempts to establish a Protestant union based on ideas of Church unity and tolerance. Skytte welcomed John Dury’s efforts to turn the Swedish Orthodoxy away from a strictly Lutheran line, and his influence may have formed Christina’s initiatives in Church politics at Uppsala, by changing the Ramist line that had been set up twenty years earlier by Skytte’s father Johan and chancellor Axel Oxenstiern.²² Bengt Skytte had studied with Isaac Vossius at Leiden and had been instrumental in urging him to come to the Stockholm court, an invitation that Vossius thought “ungodly” not to accept.²³ After he lost his platform in the council, Skytte turned to other ways for promoting a union among the Protestant states. He seems to have held a melange of religious views. Chanut suspected him of being a crypto Catholic. Messenius accused him of constantly engaging in ungodly talk.²⁴ He was most influenced by Comenian illuminism. He performed alchemical experiments with Ravius and with Stiernhielm he was a believer in the emanationist powers of language. Skytte’s 164 manuscript-page treatise on a perfected language *Sol praecipiarum linguarum subsolarium* (1683),

²¹ Claes Rålambh (1963). Christian Ravius was part of the Comenius-group that planned to give out a Bible in Turkish, see Milada Blekastad, “Geniet i Stormakternas Spill” *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 1974, pp. 31–70. Blekastad cites Samuel Hartlib to Robert Boyle 1 Nov 1659, Georg Hornius to Amos Comenius 27 April 1666 on the Turkish Bible project. Also Henry Oldenburg to Robert Boyle 16 Jan 1665/66 on letting Peter Serrarius print the Turkish Old Testament in England. The Turkish Bible is financed by Lawrence de Geer and finally dedicated to the Sultan, 5 April 1667. Comp. David S. Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603–1655* 1982. p. 218.

²² Sven Göransson, *Orthodoxi och Synkretism i Sverige 1647–1660*. Uppsala 1950. Sten Lindroth, *Svensk Lärdomshistoria* 1975.

²³ F. U. Wrangel, *Drottning Kristinas Bibliotek och Bibliotekarier före hennes bosättning i Rom* 1901. Isaac Vossius to Bengt Skytte p. 21.

²⁴ SRP 1651–53 p. 242. Fritz Arnheim, “Die Universal universität des Grossen Kurfürsten und ihre geistigen Urheber” [Bengt Skytte (1614–1683)] *Monatshefte der Comenius Gesellschaft* Bd. 20. 1911 pp. 19–35.

which would “comprehend the union of all languages,” sums up his curious interests.²⁵

Restored, but not trusted, in 1655, Skytte became governor in Estonia where rumours said he held to the Epicurean motto *Ede, bibe, lude, post mortem nulla voluptas*.²⁶ In 1657, he left Estonia, and was in Paris in 1658 where he met with Mazarin and Louis XIV (either as a Swedish agent or as proposing the same plan that he would next propose to Charles II). Then in April 1659, he went to England reportedly to propagandize a Swedish-led Pan-protestant alliance.²⁷ At Gresham College, he met with Boyle, Wilkins, and others of the Hartlib circle. In talks with Charles II, Skytte proposed a royal charter for a special City of learning which Hartlib compared to Johan Valentin Andrae's Christian society “Antilia” that was formed in Germany just before the Bohemian wars.²⁸ Skytte's charter, with a call for state revenues and legal status to be invested in scientific pursuit, drew on his experience at the Stockholm court as well as on his Pansophist leanings. Although Robert Boyle, John Beale, and Samuel Hartlib liked Skytte's plan for a Royal Charter, the body of participants rejected Skytte's staging of it.²⁹ The Society came to have a utilitarian bent entirely divested of the spiritual dimension Comenius had given to the interpretation of Francis Bacon's ideas.

After leaving England in 1661, Skytte returned to Sweden in 1662, where he had lost his political credit through having been too aligned with the now deceased King's brother. Then in early 1666, Skytte went to Hamburg to meet with Hedwig-Sophie of Hessen-Kassel, who was one of John Dury's most adamant financers.³⁰ The same year Skytte presented Nicholas de Bonet with a plan of a “Universitas Universitarum”. In 1667, Skytte met the young Leibniz in Frankfurt.³¹ Leibniz was later to hear of Skytte's linguistic works, but at this early stage of topic for discussion was the

²⁵ Anders Grape, “Riksrad—Språkforskare—med anledning av ett par nyfunna brottstycken av Bengt Skytte's förlorade verk” *Bibl. R. Univ. Uppsaliensis 1621–1921*. Uppsala 1921, pp. 329–372.

²⁶ Fritz Arneim (1911), p. 25.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 26.

²⁸ Margery Purver, *The Royal Society* 1967, pp. 220–233.

²⁹ Samuel Hartlib to John Worthington, 2 April 1661, *Ibid.* p. 228. Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration* 1975. Webster claims that Skytte's project was found “totally impractical and optimistic” and that the Royal Society instead grew out of ideas in Bacon's empirico-utilitarian tradition such as Abraham Cowley's “Philosophical college” and John Evelyn's “Mathematico-Chymico-Mechanical School” p. 98.

³⁰ Fritz Arneim (1911), p. 27.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 28.

“Sophopolis” plan. Leibniz mentions it as Skytte’s “Heliopolis”.

Finally, on 22 April 1667, the Great Kurfurst of Brandenburg in Berlin signed a patent for Skytte’s “Sophopolis”.³² In seventeen entries, the City of learning is described as an ordered place for banned scholars of all nations. The City, with study halls, lecture rooms, libraries, and well-ordered streets all centering around a Temple of Knowledge, would have statues of Fredrick Willhelm of Brandenburg and the Muses. There would be a printing press and the aim was to go to various regions to search for famous books, rare objects of art and nature, unusual or useful arts and sciences to be applied for the city’s welfare and increase. Calvinists, Arminians, Lutherans, and Roman and Greek Catholics and be welcome provided that they swear to a trinitarian conception of God. Even Jews and Moslems could join as long as they did not proselytize for their false teachings and provided that they live a non-provocative life. Although the charter was signed, the plan was not realized, reportedly because Skytte’s personal claims were out of proportion.

Skytte’s idea was of course not unique—it has a clear Pansophic intent and draws upon insights cultivated in Europe since the revival of the reformation among German Rosicrucians and it fits in the tradition of the Hermetic city *Adocentyn*, Campanella’s *Civitas Solis*, and Francis Bacon’s *Nova Atlantis*.³³ Skytte’s conceptions is perhaps most interesting because of its transreligious charter and because a Temple of Knowledge was admitted on the level of an all encompassing conception of a secular ideal. This was not only out of charity and tolerance. The standard millenarian understanding was that if the heathens could be brought to true Christianity, then the new age would not be far off. The prohibition of Unitarians also is consequential. Skytte was familiar with Comenius’ several anti-Socinian writings in which a trinitarian metaphysics is defended, and there was a valid Pansophist fear that they would be associated with the strongly anti-clerical claims of the radical Unitarians. Still, soon after the failed application of the charter at Brandenburg, Skytte negotiated with the two Socinian Unitarians Mattheus Merian and Christopher Le Blon in Munich 1669, on a Sophopolis and an Academy for linguistics.³⁴ The two were well known cartographic printers and Le Blon had a reputation for being the only one daring to print the Unitarian version of the New Testament.³⁵

³² *Ibid.* p. 19.

³³ Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* 1972.

³⁴ Fritz Arnheim (1911) p. 33.

At any rate, Sophopolis would be to Germany what Solomon's Temple was for the Jews, and what Solon's city Athens was for the Greeks.³⁶ However, by the spread of his inadvertent slander, Bengt Skytte deprived himself, the Swedes, and the unionist cause from letting the benevolent will of Christina transform Stockholm to a new Amsterdam of learning. Instead, Christina turned to secret proceedings that through intrigues with Jesuits and debates with sceptics finally led to her abandonment of Swedish Protestant politics.

Negotiations for Church Unity and the Reform of Schools

Where did Skytte get his ideas? The Pansophist influence in Sweden during Christina's time was partly tied to the plans of the English ecclesiastical reform movement. After a debate with the Swedish jurist Kaspar Godemann, the Scottish church unionist John Dury together with his colleague Tomas Roe had approached the Swedish King at his war camp in Germany in 1628 and for some hours they discussed the political problems of the divisions in Protestant theology.³⁷ Following an invitation from the King in 1631, John Dury went to Sweden in 1634 for negotiations about Church unity and to try to reconcile Anglican Calvinism and Lutheranism. He had some success and felt favoured by Axel Oxenstiern who was in power after the death of the King.³⁸

In 1636, John Dury was prepared for a new round of discussions in Stockholm, Uppsala, Westerose, and Strengnese, the main episcopal seats of Swedish Lutheranism. Dury met with many persons who favoured his project; besides Oxenstiern he met with Swedish political figures such as Johannes Matthiae, and the Skyttes, father and son. With Oxenstiern's approval he set out an agenda for trying to establish doctrinal peace among the reformed churches.³⁹ Dury held that the fruitless dissension in the Protestant camp could be dissolved by a Calvinist-Lutheran pact agreeing upon the funda-

³⁵ K. O. Meinsma, *Spinoza und sein Kreis—Historisch-Kritische Studien über Holländische freigeister*. Berlin (1909).

³⁶ Fritz Arnhem (1911) pp. 35, 28.

³⁷ G. H. Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius* 1947. pp. 142–144. J. Minton Batten, *John Dury—Advocate of Christian Reunion* 1944. p. 21, 26 ff.

³⁸ Gunnar Westin, *Negotiations about Church Unity 1628–1634*. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, Uppsala 1932.

³⁹ J. Minton Batten (1944), pp. 65–78. Gunnar Westin, *Brev från John Durie åren 1636–1638*. Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift, Uppsala 1933.—*Svenska Kyrkan och de Protestantiska enhetssträvandena under 1630-talet* 1934.

mental articles of faith and on a set of Christian principles.⁴⁰ To this end he proposed the ideas of James Ussher of Armagh who had laid out the practice of the early church to show how the various Protestant conceptions of church hierarchy could be brought to harmonize.⁴¹ But in 1638, with the prospect of a substantial rewriting of the formalia in the Swedish church, the orthodox wing of the episcopate balked, and John Dury was expelled by the Queen's decree.⁴² In spite of this seeming debacle, the Dury associates in Sweden continued to work on reformation of the Church order. Christina's mentor Johannes Matthiae was particularly active. In his *Idea Boni Ordinis in Ecclesia Christi* (1644), he argues for the simplified church programme of the Moravian brethren.⁴³

The educational reformists of the English revolution, John Dury, Samuel Hartlib, and Amos Comenius, intended their work for the future of all Protestantism. To this end they collaborated to print their messages in various languages, they travelled to counsel with Protestant princes, and they labored to spread the idea of a general reversal of events that ultimately would convert the heathens and bring peace to a renewed Christendom.⁴⁴ After the fortunes of war made their joint refuge at Elbing in Prussia impossible, they had turned to England where Hartlib especially got involved with promoting Francis Bacon's idea of an advancement of learning.⁴⁵ But their educational reform program in England was halted because of Parliament's distraction by the Irish war.⁴⁶ In 1641, on Dury's advice, Amos Comenius, after having turned down offers from Harvard College in New England and from Richelieu in Paris, journeyed to Sweden where he discussed his reformation plans with Axel Oxenstiern.⁴⁷ Oxenstiern made clear that he did not share Comenius' judgment on the chiliast structure of history but he was willing to listen to Comenius' plan of school reform in preparation for the millennium.⁴⁸ Oxenstiern read Comenius' chiliast work *Via*

⁴⁰ G. H. Turnbull (1947) for an (incomplete) list of Dury's works relating to pacification with the Swedish Church. pp. 180–183.

⁴¹ J. Minton Batten (1944), p. 53.

⁴² Gunnar Westin (1933), (1934).

⁴³ Bror Jansson, *Johannes Matthiae Gothus och hans plats i gudstjänstlivets historia*. Kyrkohistorisk arsskrift 1954, Uppsala 1955.

⁴⁴ Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Three Foreigners—The Philosophers of the English Revolution", *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change* 1967.

⁴⁵ Charles Webster, *Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning* 1970.

⁴⁶ Robert Fitzgibbon Young, *Comenius in England*. Arno Press, New York 1971.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Appendix B, pp. 89–95.

⁴⁸ Sven Göransson, "Comenius och Sverige 1642–1648" *Lychnos* 1957–58, Uppsala 1958 pp. 102–137. Milada Blekstad (1969), p. 349–351.

Lucis, and because the major part of the funding came from the Huguenot cannon manufacturer Louis De Geer, a program for a rewriting of textbooks for grammar schools were agreed upon.⁴⁹

Comenius now settled at Elbing in Swedish Pommerania and between 1642 and 1648 he worked on various editions of his *Janua Linguarum* and his *Orbis Pictus* based on the idea that if language learning is to be effective, it has to be appealing to the senses through pictures. Knowledge is only clear and lucid when fitted into a total framework where each item of instruction appears as an easy application of rules devoid of every obscurity. Taught in this way the subjects will edify the soul in its spiritual growth. Comenius describes his plan in *The Reform of Schooles* (1642). He argues that our knowledge ought to be ordered according to the principles of Solomon's Temple in whose structure the presence of the Creator can be seen, reasoned, felt, and remembered.⁵⁰ But Comenius' labor was not left to his own devices. The Swedes wanted practical applications and were unsatisfied with Comenius' plan to work out his full system of didactics on which he saw the millenium at stake. To Comenius, the reformation of schools was only a step in a chiliast scheme to fulfil the necessary conditions for the advent of Christ. Spreading the Latin tongue was only a tool for ending the Babel of dissension. He understood that without a fundamental theological unity, the Protestant powers could not be expected to follow the direction of his eschatological scheme.⁵¹

The trial of the Pansophist Menius in 1645 was a half victory for the orthodoxy, and when Comenius returned to Sweden in 1646 the situation was somewhat unclear. Comenius had to point out that he was a Hussite and not a Calvinist like Dury. In conversations with the Queen, he was asked to speed up his Pansophic work and to leave Elbing for Stockholm. De Geer promised him more funding.⁵² Two years later the situation was again somewhat troubled. In December 1648, Isaac Vossius wrote to Claude Saumaise on the Queen's sentiment:

However contemptuously I have expressed myself about this school-teacher [Comenius], in her feelings she thinks a great deal less of him . . . if my mistress is at all capable of hating someone, she would

⁴⁹ Via *Lucis*, Milada Blekastad (1969) p. 371, Lewis de Geer, *Ibid.* p. 347 ff.

⁵⁰ Amos Comenius, *The Reform of Schooles* (1642). The Scolar Press, Menston, England 1969. pp. 71-89.

⁵¹ Comenius' final summation of the world restitution *De Rerum Humanorum Emendatione Consultatio Catholica* was completed in the last years of his life, but the manuscript was found and printed only in modern times.

⁵² Wilhelmus Rood, *Comenius and the Low Countries* 1970.

certainly hate him because of his insignificant and insipid booklets, with which he has driven almost all of Germany to frenzy . . . she would not even be able to hear his name without laughing and at the same time be annoyed. Nevertheless, there have been many people who have put themselves to considerable trouble to recommend that man to the illustrious Queen, with the idea that the studies in this kingdom can flourish only if he himself, as a general manager and an eternal dictator, is entrusted with the leadership of these studies.⁵³

Vossius' observations were ignored in the Westphalian peace negotiations of 1648 when the Czech question was dropped from discussion, leaving the Protestants in Silesia and Moravia to fend for themselves in Central Europe.⁵⁴ Comenius was greatly disappointed. At one point he had thought Hugo Grotius' role as Swedish negotiator in the Peace treaty would support the radical reform movements in the east.⁵⁵ It was thought that Grotius, who was in exile from the Dutch republic, had been leaning towards radical reform theology. But in 1646, after having received his pension from the Queen for his tenure as Swedish Ambassador at Paris, Grotius died on his way to the continent.⁵⁶

Comenius' attempts did not end. While he sought new patrons for his total chiliast system others tried to influence the Queen, in particular Skytte's friend the Orientalist Christian Ravius, then also Comenius' son-in-law Peter Figulus, and Comenius' contestant educationalist and universal language planner Cyprian Kinner.⁵⁷ In 1649, Cyprian Kinner told Christina of the female astrologer Maria Cunitia von Löwen and gave the Queen a copy of his Pansophist work *Diatyposis*.⁵⁸ Queen Christina was well informed about the unionist arguments, she read the French translation of Godefried Hotton's treatise *De l'union et reconciliation des Eglises Evangelique de l'Europe ou de moyen etablir entre elles une tolerance en charité* (1647), and in the same year she openly accepted Mathiae's Moravian version of the church order.⁵⁹ The Pansophist

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 56.

⁵⁴ Milada Blekastad, pp. 451–452.

⁵⁵ Wilhelmus Rood (1970). Hugo Grotius had in letters to Axel Oxenstiern been concerned about John Dury's plight. For references, see Milada Blekastad (1969), p. 279.

⁵⁶ Jean Levesque de Burigny, *Vie de Grotius—avec l'histoire de ses ouvrages*. 2 vols. Paris 1752.

⁵⁷ G. H. Turnbull (1947), p. 424, 433.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 424. See Ingrid Guenther, "URANIA PROPITIA (1650)—in zweyerlei Sprachen: Ein Lateinisch-Deutsch Sprachiges Compendium der Mathematikerin und Astronomin Maria Cunitz" in *Res Publica Litteraria* 1987, pp. 619–642.

⁵⁹ Johan Nordström, *Georg Stiernhielm—del 2: 1 Filosofiska Fragment* 1924, p. ccxiv. The dedication edition of Hotton's work was produced by Hélie Poirier, the French ballet writer and translator of Erasmus.

activists had some success. In December 1649 Comenius received funds from De Geer and also from the Queen.⁶⁰

The period between 1649 to 1652 was full of activity for the advancement of learning. Christina's initiatives in Church politics in the period up to 1651 included a reformation of the University in Uppsala by separating theology from the philosophical and rhetorical chairs (which strengthened a trend away from Lullism and Aristotelianism), followed by repeated exile of orthodox opposers to the farther sides of the Baltic.⁶¹ In 1648, Christina proposed a plan akin to those suggested by unionist reformers. She signed a plan of a new College Library at Uppsala—six storeys high with four wings including study apartments and a church room.⁶² The combination of study and Christian piety suggests that this plan for a major public library is parallel to Dury's and Hartlib's English project for library reform described in Dury's *The Reformed Librarie Keeper* (1651). The English Ambassador Whitelock reports that the Queen had asked him for details on the library of St. James. The evangelical unionist John Dury worked there as librarian.⁶³ The work at Uppsala was actually begun, but a ruinous mismanagement of financial sources (devastating also in other matters of state) prevented the library construction from going further than basic groundwork.⁶⁴

To speed up the dissemination of information in Dutch style Christina also invited the Elzevier press to settle in Sweden, an offer that was turned down and taken instead by Jan Janssonius who opened a publishing house in Stockholm in 1649.⁶⁵ In the same year, Gezelius' theological project in linguistics at Dorpat was set under way for work on a new Bible text.⁶⁶ Through the channels that Isaac Vossius had built to scholars on the Continent, plans were made in Stockholm for an international centre of studies in ancient history and biblical chronology.⁶⁷

The Commerce council in 1653 sent two ships with fresh immigrants to the neglected mission at Fort Christina in New Sweden.⁶⁸

⁶⁰ Milada Blekastad (1969) p. 470.

⁶¹ See note 21 above.

⁶² Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, "Biblioteksdebatten i Akademiska konsistoriet 1627–1694" *Acta Univ. Ups/Upps. Univ. 500 years* 12 "I Universitetets tjanst" Uppsala 1977 pp. 19–30.

⁶³ John Dury, *The Reformed Librarykeeper* (1651). The Augustan Reprint Society Publ. no. 220, 1983.

⁶⁴ Sten Lindroth (1975).

⁶⁵ Johan Nordström (1924), p. ccxvi.

⁶⁶ Matthias Biörnclo in Jan Agrell, Uppsala Un. Årsbok (1955: 3).

⁶⁷ See Chapter VI above.

⁶⁸ Christopher Ward, *New Sweden on the Delaware*. Philadelphia 1938.

Louis De Geer was the chief financier of the Swedish venture at a colony in West Africa and Comenius now saw an opportunity to extend his missionary work to it. In 1649, De Geer had even started to talk about a route to East India north over Nova Zembla, in order to have trade with "Americam, Africam et Asiam". But De Geer now was restrained from financing Comenius' Pansophic projects as he was sued by another Huguenot, his son in law and business partner Karel de Besche. The legal proceedings turned into a family feud and de Geer was distracted by the suit until his death in 1652.⁶⁹ In the meantime, Matthiae's *Idea Boni Ordinis* was reprinted by Comenius and distributed in the Netherlands and in Germany.⁷⁰ Comenius had by now built up a total chiliast reformation program for his Pansophia that he now preferred to work out. For this ambitious but nebulous project, he received funding only from the Amsterdam-based uncle of Louis de Geer, the Huguenot Lawrence de Geer.⁷¹

In the 1650s, the Pansophic plans were directed toward the conversion of the heathens as a preparation for the deluge of Judgment and included an extended printing of textbooks, a translation of the Bible into Turkish, and an Oriental poly-glot translation of Comenius' Latin *Linguarum*.⁷² The French Ambassador Piques' relates that in the year of Bulstrode Whitelocke's embassy in 1652–53, Christina frequently had discussions with John Dury and Whitelocke's secretary William Lisle.⁷³ In a letter from Christian Ravius to Samuel Hartlib on 12 June 1652 he says that Dury had some success with the Queen. On June 29, Dury thinks that the Queen may support Christian Ravius' brother Jan who had been involved with the Danish Academy at Soro and who recently had published a Pansophist tract: "I did propose a way of supply for him, and endeavoured to procure him the patronage of the Queen for his wayes of Schooling and Education."⁷⁴

Christian Ravius had already obtained such patronage as an Orientalist at the University of Uppsala. In 1650, Christian Ravius had Christina pay for his acquisition of the Amsterdam rabbi

⁶⁹ Milada Blekastad (1979) p. 630. E. W. Dahlgren, "Louis De Geer (1587–1652)" *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexicon*. Stockholm 1931. Vol. 10, pp. 457–476. On De Geer's plans of 15 Dec 1649 for trade, see p. 474.

⁷⁰ Milada Blekastad (1974).

⁷¹ For the Amsterdam circle, see Wilhelm Rood (1970) *passim*.

⁷² See note 20 above. Also Milada Blekastad (1969) pp. 507–508, 631–632.

⁷³ Piques' relation in P. Linage de Vaucienne, *Mémoires de ce qui s'est passé en Suède . . . depuis l'anné 1645 jusque en l'anné 1655. Tirez des dépêches de M. Chanut [and from those of M. Piques]* 1674.

⁷⁴ G. H. Turnbull (1947) p. 271.

Menasseh ben Israel's Hebrew types. She also paid for a set of types in Arabic. This was in support of Ravius' Christian Kabbalist view that the spread of Oriental languages is a necessary part of the millenial scheme for converting the Jews and counterbalancing the Turks. Ravius planned to set up a "Collegium Orientale" for furthering these aims. Although he was regarded as a bizarre character by his colleagues, while he grew more and more involved in Bible chronology and millenarianism, his efforts resulted in the proliferation of Oriental studies at Uppsala in the 1660s.⁷⁵

Little else of John Dury's and Christina's relations are known, but from Ambassador Whitelocke's minutes we know Christina was interested in the English religious scene, in Cromwell's great success, and in the seeming side topic of Whitelocke's views of the Anabaptists.⁷⁶

In a final attempt to support the unionist ideas in 1652 Christina ordered her diplomatic aid Adler-Salvius to adapt Matthiae's church reform for a state proposal, but shortly afterwards the learned state councillor died.⁷⁷ Christina then gradually withdrew her efforts for the unionists and quickly moved toward a more self-interested libertine scepticism in the French fashion. The efforts to influence the Queen seem to have had little result after the Messenius trial, especially since the allegations against Bengt Skytte caused the Queen's to withdraw her trust in his counsel. In 1652, because of Russian military activity, she closed down the Dorpat university, dispersed its funds to Finnish nobility, and turned her interests to the young courtier Klas Åkesson Toff, former ambassador at Paris.⁷⁸ John Dury's activity in 1652, while offering some hope about Ravius's project, could not alter this trend. By abdicating, Christina left the unionists to work their way to Charles Gustavus, who was to fulfil their expectations not by a quiet reform of the schools, but by a violent military campaign on Catholic Poland.

⁷⁵ Johan Nordström (1924), p. ccxviii. Meyer Keyserling, "Menasseh ben Israel und die Königin Christina von Schweden. *Hamazkir Hebraische Bibliographie*, ii, (1859), iii, (1860). M. Steinschneider argues in *Hamazkir* iii, (1860) that the selling of the type must be read as dated 1656, not 1650, which of course would be even more interesting given the Messianic expectations. See below Ch. XI.

⁷⁶ Bulstrode Whitelocke, *A Journal of the Swedish Embassy* 1855.

⁷⁷ 23 August 1652.

⁷⁸ Peder Jucl reports the Dorpat closure in 1652. On Klas Toff, see no. 9 in Appendix II, Picques' relations (1674) and Chapter II, n. 83 above.

Heinrich Hein, the Baltic Antilia, and the Rosicrucians

Bengt Skytte's practical utopia shows that Pansophist ideas had some influence in Sweden. While Comenius' role in Stockholm was of a restricted and utilitarian nature, there is also evidence of Pansophist philosophy from other mostly German sources. The Spiritual Atomist Friedrich Menius is only one case in point. I argue that the origin of the Sophopolis scheme probably derived directly from Skytte's friends at Dorpat on the eastern shores of the Swedish Baltic empire. The evidence for this assertion consists of some little known connections among Baltic Protestant thinkers, often described as being related to an elusive sect of Rosicrucian or Pansophist alchemists. The first known, so-called Rosicrucian pamphlet, *Fama Fraternitatis R.C.* (1614) was an anonymous story about Christian Rosencreutz, a German knight of the thirteenth century, who, on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, had been diverted to Damcar, a city of unknown location, where he learned the alchemical secrets of Arabia.⁷⁹ The recent detection of Rosencreutz' burial chamber had disclosed cryptographic insignia containing his testament wisdom. In a series of similar pamphlets, anonymous spokesmen used the story of the brothers of the Rosy Cross to make enthusiastic claims about how a total reformation of society could take place. The imagery of the Rosicrucian pamphlets had little to do with historical reality. Yet, the fiction of a militant and secret Protestant movement of Lutheran Paracelsists spread the message in the German-speaking world that powerful individuals were joined in intellectual resistance to the Catholic cause. The millenarian elements of Paracelsism had been assimilated to the older ideas of cosmological Stoicism—the aim was to establish a cosmopolitan brotherhood moved by the same ethos.

When Gustavus Adolphus's tutor Johannes Bureus in 1619 produced no less than three pamphlets with Rosicrucian themes, their cryptic content was intended for the German readership. Having read these pamphlets in 1624, the German alchemist Joachim Morsius came in person to Stockholm in order to study Bureus' Gothic Kabbalah.⁸⁰ Morsius was quite impressed and afterwards compared Bureus' mysticism to the theosophy of Jakob Boehme.⁸¹ Joachim Morsius (1593–1644) has been described as

⁷⁹ Frances A. Yates (1972), and more recently Richard van Dülmen, *Die Utopie einer Christlichen Gesellschaft* 1978.

⁸⁰ Sten Lindroth, *Paracelsismen i Sverige* 1943. pp. 157, 171–179. H. Schneider, *Joachim Morsius und sein Kreis*. Lubeck 1929.

⁸¹ Sten Lindroth (1943) after Hermann Schneider (1929).

the key figure in the German attempts to keep the idea of a Rosicrucian society alive after its initial period ending in 1620. Thus, this year he republished Heinrich Nollius' works, such as the *Via Sapientia Systema Medica Hermetica* (1613) and *Theoria Philosophia Hermetica* (1617). Morsius also had contacts with the original Rosicrucian pamphleteerist, Johannes Valentin Andrae (1586–1654), as well as with several German alchemists.⁸² In a famous letter to Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg in 1642, Andrae describes how a group of Christian illuminists had formed a group they called "Antilia" some time before the Bohemian War. This group had inspired Andrae in 1619 to publish his tract on a fictional Christianopolis dedicated to Hermetic and alchemical research in the name of Christ.⁸³

After the Bohemian war, another similar group formed at Rostock in 1622–25 around the spiritual atomist Joachim Jungius (1587–1657). The Rostock group called themselves a "Collegium Philosophale" or "Societas Eurenatica and Zetetica" and they pursued applications of Jungius' so-called "protozoetical" method—an anti-Aristotelian classification system formed on an atomistic base.⁸⁴ In 1629, Andrae tried to realize his plan of a Christian society by forming a general congregation of learning that would connect the Protestant groups in defence of Christ. In a letter to Jungius in 1643, Morsius tells how he had tried to help the project by distributing twelve copies of Andrae's tract *Christiana Societas Imago; Christiani Amoris Dextera Porrecta* (1620)—the right hand extended in Christian love in invitation to consider the organization of a new Christian Commonwealth. Andrae suggested that minds should be joined in the name of Christ to supervise and further free communication for a Christian betterment of society. Morsius writes that the receivers of the tract were key Protestant political figures including Duke August, Mauritz of Hessen, Prince Fredrick of Norway, Ludwig of Anhalt (the founder of the *Frucht-*

⁸² W. E. Peuckert, *Die Rosenkreuzer. Zur Geschichte einer Reformation*. Jena 1928. pp. 212–213.

⁸³ *Ibid.* Morsius to Jungius 26 Aug 1643, pp. 209–210. Reprinted in full in Hermann Schneider (1929). Margery Purver (1967), derives Andrae's concept of Antilia as a fictional island on the Nuremberg globe of 1492, p. 220–225.

⁸⁴ Johan Nordström (1924) p. cxlviii. Joachim Jungius later settled in Hamburg where he developed his spiritual atomism. G. E. Guhrauer, *Joachim Jungius und sein Zeitalter*. Stuttgart und Tübingen 1850. Jungius' Hamburg students included Christina's friend Petrus Lambeckius (a relative of the neo-Platonist Lucas Holstenius) who converted to Catholicism and was Imperial Librarian in Vienna.

bringende Gesellschaft, a learned order among Lutheran politicians), Sybelista the physician of the Grand Duke of Moskau, Rosencrantz the Dane and Adler-Salvius the Swede; both influential diplomats, also the mystic Grammendorf, Henric a Qualen, the Nurnberg alchemists Pohmer and Merian, and the theologian Brasch.⁸⁵ The *Dextera Porrecta* laid the foundations for a pan-Protestant union whose twelve councillors would organize the reformed states for their joint causes in knowledge and religious control.

Although it is uncertain that any such society was formed at the time, the list does make clear that an argument for a Protestant unionism with illuminist ideology was widespread in Germany and around the Baltic. The Swedish diplomat Adler-Salvius, for example, had an important role in the 1648 Westphalian peace treaty where, with Christina's support, he managed to circumvent Oxenstiern's more expansionist claims for Sweden.⁸⁶ Adler-Salvius was also involved with other radical ideological activity. He had direct contact with intellectual Jews in Amsterdam and had himself studied Paracelsist medicine in Germany. It is interesting that on his way from England to Sweden in 1642, Comenius sent a note to Joachim Jungius, now at the Hamburg Gymnasium, to tell him that Adler-Salvius wanted the services of Jungius and his atomist compatriot Adolf Tassius.⁸⁷

Skytte's mentors probably belonged to the group around one of the members of Jungius' Rostock group—the Professor of Law at Dorpat Heinrich Hein (ca. 1590–1655). Hein was a friend of Andrae, Morsius, and Pohmer, and was a leading figure at the Baltic University where the emanationist philosophers Friedrich Menius and Georg Stiernhielm also held positions. When Menius was persecuted at Stockholm in 1645 for his anti-orthodox Hermetic opinions, Hein was still his colleague. At that time also Stiernhielm was working on judicial problems at Dorpat and although no correspondence between the two men has been found, it is known that the two colleagues, Hein and Stiernhielm, travelled to Stockholm in the same vessel at least once.⁸⁸ Skytte had close contacts

⁸⁵ W. E. Peuckert (1928) p. 210. *Dextera Porrecta* reprinted in English by G. H. Turnbull, "Johan Valentin Andreas Societas Christiana". *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie* 73, 1954 pp. 426–432. *Imago Christianae* reprinted in *ZDPh* 74, 1955 pp. 151–152. Milada Blekastad (1969) p. 150.

⁸⁶ On Salvius background see Sten Lindroth (1943), pp. 488–489.

⁸⁷ Johan Nordström (1924), pp. cxcii ff, ccxxxvi. G. E. Guhrauer (1850) no. 92 p. 128.

⁸⁸ Nordström p. cxciii. W. E. Peuckert (1928) pp. 206–207.

with Stiernhielm and they developed ideas on language structures based on Hermetic or Pansophist metaphysics. The social political plans of Hein must have reached them through his role as Master of Dorpat University. In Stockholm, Hein also befriended Christian Ravius whose alchemical group included Bengt Skytte and who also corresponded with German Pansophists in Comenius' circle. As a student in Heidelberg in 1618, Hein had received the dedication of Andrae's *Turris Babel sive Judiciorum Fraternitatis Crucis Chaos*, a Christian reevaluation of the Rosicrucian pamphlets. Andrae worried that the writers had begun to lay more emphasis on the *rosae*, than on the *crucis*.⁸⁹ Hein could then draw directly on ideas from Andrae's spiritual and utopian tracts, as well as from others involved in setting up societies for alchemical research.

A major influence on both J. V. Andrae and Heinrich Hein was Johan Arndt (1555–1621) whose proto pietist work *De Veritate Christiani Religionis* (1605) spread the message of personal illumination around the Baltic.⁹⁰ One reason for Hein's several ties over the Baltic was the German congregation in Stockholm. In 1636 on his unionist journey to Sweden, the Scotsman John Dury met with Hein in Stockholm and was now told that in 1629 Morsius had been involved with a Baltic project to establish a college for evangelical missionary activity in Russia. The project was financed by Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm, Gustavus Adolphus' illegitimate step brother, who had offered his island Runö outside Estonia for the project. Gyllenhielm was inspired by Johan Arndt's writings and his Swedish and German followers had suggested that waterways through Russia could be built for trade with the Orient.⁹¹ Nothing came of the idea and due to the King's death at Lützen, utopian ideals in Sweden were met by scepticism. His death also had a profound influence on German thinkers, witness J. V. Andrae's tract in 1633: *Gustavi Adolphi Suecorum Regis Magni, Victoris in Coelis triumphaturi Ad Pietatem Germanem Suprema Verba suspirii*.⁹²

Heinrich Hein was familiar with the plans for a mission at Runo and also had been a member of the Rostock group, but in 1640, he was still intrigued enough by the Rosicrucian fiction to ask Pohmer about the real origins of the "Baltic Antilia". Pohmer provided some information about an early Nürnberg group of the 1620s that

⁸⁹ Sten Lindroth (1947), pp. 431 ff, 437 n. 6.

⁹⁰ Milada Blekastad (1969), p. 280. On Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm see Sten Lindroth (1943), pp. 430–431, 495–496.

⁹¹ W. E. Peuckert (1928) p. 214.

⁹² Richard van Dulmen (1978), p. 288.

had picked up the theme of the Atlantic island “Antilia”, thought to be used by the original fraternity from before the Bohemian War.⁹³ Hein also knew the Helmstedt theologian Johann Saubert (1592–1646), who in 1642 was involved with Duke August and Andrae in a revival of the earlier attempts to form a Protestant order of Christ.⁹⁴ The 1642 group around the Duke August also included members of the Nürnberg alchemical society who had been part of the second Antilia or “*Unio Christiana*” for alchemical and political discussions. Hein also corresponded with the Elbing refugee Samuel Hartlib, who, in 1641, with the Heidelberg intellectual Theodor Haak, drew on Andrae’s ideas to form an English group of scientists that they called “the Invisible College”.⁹⁵ Skytte’s adventures indicate that Hartlib knew quite well of the early “Antilia” group, and Hartlib’s own Christian-Scientific utopia “*Macaria*” derived its impetus from it. Through Dury and Hein, he knew in 1629 of Morsius’, Pohmer’s, and Hein’s plan to establish an “Antilia” on the island of Runo, but at that time the turns of war inclined Hartlib to argue for the establishment of the society on Bermuda in New Virginia across the Atlantic.⁹⁶

Hartlib’s plan came to nought as everyone feared Spanish aggression on the colony and as only few of his friends wanted to leave their relative freedom around the Baltic for such a risky undertaking. In 1636, Dury reported to Hartlib that in Denmark he had met Heinrich Morian and had talked about the “Christian Society which was intended by those that wrote *Dexteram Amoris*, and [Morian] told mee the causes why they did not settle as their purpose was, in a certain Isle of the Baltick sea, in the confines of the Russian territories.”⁹⁷

Thus when Samuel Hartlib in 1649 could refer to Skytte’s Sophopolis as similar to “the other Antilia” he probably was referring to the Baltic initiatives, not merely as English historians frequently have assumed, to the original group itself of the Nürnberg

⁹³ *Ibid.* p. 214 ff.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Margery Purver (1967) pp. 224–225. Charles Webster, (1970). Also Fitzgibbon Young (1971), pp. 89–90. Recent research discounts a one sided emphasis on Baconian origins and argues that the reformation rhetoric covers a scientific enterprise that in reality was more diffuse, see Michael Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England*. Cambridge Univ. Press. Cambridge 1981. In his appendix Hunter discusses John Beale’s projected companion to Spratt’s official history of the Royal Society (that contained the famous frontispiece now pasted to some copies of Spratt), but downplays Yates’ Rosicrucian connection found in Beales’ rhetoric and the frontispiece imagery of Fame.

⁹⁶ G. E. Turnbull. *ZDPH* (1954), p. 412.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 412.

berg coalition. Apparently the sacred aim of the mission was soon forgotten and only its utilitarian aspect was retained. Thus in 1654 Cromwell was informed by the diplomatic deputy of Brandenburg that "Socii Dextrae Amoris ventured after the Warres begun a wast sum of money upon a sea- and shipping-designe but lost it altogether."⁹⁸

Through Bureus' influence, through Morsius' distribution of Andrae's *Dextera Porrecta* to Adler Salvius, through the Dorpat group, and through the group endorsing the idea of a mission at Runö, several lines in the Rosicrucian arsenal of plans had been transmitted to Sweden at the time of Christina's coronation. The more specific question of whether these activities also indicate the existence of Rosicrucianism in Christina's Stockholm depends on what we take the term to mean. Instead of for a tenous secret society with advanced plans and organization, I prefer to use the term for the Lutheran Pansophists/Paracelsists that I have identified. The important point is that there was a continuity of understanding in these actually existing groups of Christian reformers—although we may hesitate about how to label it. In a series of books and articles, Frances A. Yates has tried to chart the descriptive scope of the term "Roscicrucian" as a tool for historical research. She recommends that the designated elements of Rosicrucianism are to be seen as largely independent of the fictional descriptions. They would include the conglomerate style of Hermetic doctrine, alchemical metaphysics, chivalric royalism, scholarly communication, and millenarian expectations. I think the data show that it is justifiable to attribute these elements to Christina's close environment. They were no longer fused, illustrated and presented as utopian, but on new levels these elements could join, as in Queen Christina's eclectic interest for antiquity and millenarianism. That she herself also knew utopian tracts can be seen from Bernardino de Rebolledo's very short undated epigramme (but indexed as accompanying a book given to the Queen): *Esta Cuidad del Sol dischosamente, En vuestros ojos hallara su Oriente.*⁹⁹

I also think that the background of Skytte's Pansophism is an indication that the Messenius attempt to oust the Queen was, in spite of his alleged Papist views, supported by a range of individuals whose ideological views ultimately translated into a plan to replace Queen Christina with someone closer to their Sveo-

⁹⁸ Frances A. Yates, *Ideas and Ideals in North European Renaissance* 1984.

⁹⁹ Bernardino de Rebolledo, *Ocios (Selva Militar y politica. Rimas sacras . . .* Antwerp 1660. Part I, verse XL.

Germanic Lutheran militancy. In 1655, Christina's friend, the Habsburg General Montecuccoli, did record a crucial judgment of the Swedish wars, "that this Kingdom cannot be maintained without war, and the soldiers love the Palatine, and his military mentality."¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ R. Montecuccoli, *I Viaggi . . .* (1655) reprint. Torino 1924. p. 28. Reported by Count Ulfelt after a meeting with Christina and the general.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE HERMETIC ORDER OF THE AMARANTHE

When one considers how seriously public acts and public signs were regarded in a Baroque court such as Christina's in Stockholm, it is interesting that there has been a controversy about the interpretation of the Queen's personal emblem at the time of the abdication. In his pursuit of the history of chivalry, the English Royalist Elias Ashmole (who in 1646 claimed to belong to the same secret Rosicrucian society as the astrologer William Lilly) reported that Queen Christina had instituted an illustrious order of the Amaranthe in 1647.¹ Christina's early biographer, Johan Arckenholtz, points out that this is a mistake. The Amaranthe order was not founded until the year 1653 and was a pious congregation whose original fifteen male and fifteen female members were admitted on condition that they not be married, and who swore allegiance to Christina while wearing a double A with the inscription "Dolce nella Memoria" as insignia.² The order, with its name of the immortal ever blossoming Amaranthe flower, has stirred some speculation as it was given among others to the Spanish diplomats Bernardino de Rebolledo and Antonio Pimentel del Prado, and the Austrian general Montecuccoli, all of them instrumental to Christina's Habsburg plans.³ Romantic readers have taken the double 'A' to mean "Antonio" Pimentel and it has been pointed out that the hometown of Pimentel's family in Portugal bore the name Amaranta.⁴ This interpretation has been immensely influential, especially in the French speaking world, and it is thus no accident that the script for Greta Garbo's portrayal of Queen Christina makes Pimentel into Christina's first lover en route to the continent.⁵

¹ Arckenholz (1751) I, p. 385n. On Ashmole see Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* 1972, pp. 193 ff. The Harley collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, contains Ashmole's papers, they include several astrological charts of Gustavus Adolphus and one entry notes the births of Queen Christina and Alexander VII (this entry also notes the birthdate of the etcher Wineslaus Hollar, who incidentally is the etcher of the famous frontispiece in Spratt's *History of the Royal Society*) in William Lilly's hand. Harley No. 243. 180/6.

² Arckenholtz (1751), p. 385n.

³ *Ibid.* p. 387.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 384n.

⁵ It is noteworthy that the copy of Whitelocke's memoirs now at the UCLA library in Westwood is stamped "Metro Goldwyn Mayer" indicating that the

Modern historians regard the Amaranthe order as inspired by the new import of a Germanic courtly custom—the Wirtschaft—a feast in which the participants act out a masquerade accompanied by song, drama, and dance.⁶ On one such occasion in Stockholm in the spring of 1653, the Danish statecouncillor-in-exile Corfitz Ulfeldt played Jupiter; Ambassador Pimentel assumed the role of Mars; the Polish chancellor-in-exile Radieowsky rode on a barrel of wine in the guise of Bacchus. The Queen was supposed to enter dressed up as Pan, instead she chose to assume the role of Amarantha—an Arcadian shepherdess.⁷ On other occasions she had chosen to be Diana, and to everyone's amusement and astonishment at her coronation feasts, the Queen also dressed up as a servant and as a Roman slave in chains. On New Years Eve 1651, her libertine aids had also joined in; du Picquet as Orpheus and Courtin as Charon.⁸ These feasts were innocent games playing on the theme of a courtly and Neo-Platonic Eros speculation found in many other Baroque courts of Europe. The fictitious theme of the pastoral fields of Arcadia that set the stage for the games only retained faint overtones of the pagan Bacchic mystery that it had possessed during the Renaissance.⁹ It thus was merely a courtly diversion when later in the same season Christina took her company of Amaranthe associates to Jakobsdahl, where the participants could dine and play with her in peace behind the shield of a beautiful castle park.¹⁰

Yet, this brief mention of an Amaranthe order for pure enjoyment in the spring of 1653 does not exclude the possibility that the order also had a more solemn aim. Some Latin verses filed at Uppsala as dating from 1653, may very well be the original oath of allegiance:

When you are in flame, in flames that imitate the color [gold] of the order, named after the great amaranthe, then give to mortals the fire of

English Ambassador's observations underlie the filmproduction of "Queen Christina" with Greta Garbo as leading lady.

⁶ Kurt Johannesson, *I Polstjärnans tecken* 1968.

⁷ Johan Ekeblads brev 20 Jan 1653, *De La Gardiska Arkivet*. Vol. VIII, Stockholm 1835. p. 198.

⁸ Kurt Johannesson (1968).

⁹ The Arcadian theme is perhaps best represented in the paintings by Christina's French contemporary, the artist Poussin. Her own art collection contained works of Correggio, Tizian, and, as Edgar Wind describes, the Neo-Platonic "erotic-machia"—the cycle on the pains, concord, pleasures and perfection of Love by Veronese. After her death in 1689, Christina's art collection passed through many buyers. In 1727, some of the items were in the hands of the Prince of Orleans, who in a rage of madness cut out the faces of the nudes, as with Corregio's "Leda".

¹⁰ In the summer of 1653 Pimentel lived at Jakobsdahl as the sole foreign diplomat and Christina visited there weeks at a time.

the heavenly fire, if light over darkness is hailed as life over death. From mortal fire, darkness out of the black night follows . . . But you, great order, become the perennial flame, for certainly in darkness the primal ones [priors] shall never be restored.¹¹

I believe that given these verses, the Pimentel romance fades. For clearly the common flame of Eros [mortales ignes] is contrasted to an immortal celestial fire that alone has the power of regeneration. At the same time, Sven Stolpe's suggestion that the Amaranthe emblem symbolizes the Catholic ideal of virginity also loses plausibility. Rather, the emblem seems to stand for another sacred thought. In Hermetic style it codifies the future mystical bond between the Queen and her company.

As the scholar Grammius suggested to Arckenholtz, the Greek notion of *amaranthos* can be taken as *immeurcissable*; as everlasting, imperishable glory. He thought its use close to the French genre of Greek literary enactments such as *Astrée* and *Urfée*. Yet, the Amaranthe order was only mentioned briefly along with the splendour of the Stockholm court in the popular representation of the customs around the young and learned Queen published in Paris by Madeleine de Scudery, the *roman à clef* entitled *Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus* (1654). Here, in a complicated tale of a court distant in time and space and where passions rule heroic minds, the Swedish Queen appears as Cleobuline amorously attached to the courtier Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie. French sources also cite the Amaranthe order independently of de Scudery's bestseller and respectfully regard it as *la frairie Amaranthe* for decorating men of state potentially helpful to the Queen. Pliny asserts that the *amarantos* of the Greeks was a flower that did not whither and thus was used for making crowns in winter. It had a supernatural virtue: that of conciliating favour and glory to those who wore it. Probably this was what the Queen had in mind when she encircled two stately portraits with her Amaranthe insignia, and when she conferred the order on foreign diplomats that she might have to call on after the abdication.¹² The much-argued-for connection between the courtly feasts and the Amaranthe order thus should not obscure the fact that it served as a symbolic instrument for Christina's political aims. The Spanish obsession with Stoic militancy and the cross, is expressed in Rebol-

¹¹ Palmskioldiana Uppsala UB, ad anno 1653 p. 1567. Victor Cousin, *La Société Francaise au xvii, siècle I—Etudes sur les Femmes illustres . . .* 2 vols. Didier, Paris 1886, provides the key to the novel. Le Grand Cyrus is the Prince of Condé.

¹² In 1653, Christina gave the Amaranthe to Pimentel, Rebolledo, Schlippenbach, Tott, Dohna, Duglas, Wittenberg, Jacob de La Gardie, Prince Adolph John, later also to Montecuccoli.

ledo's sacred verses on the tears and sufferings of Job, *La Constancia victoriosa* (Cologne 1655). In the preface Rebolledo alludes to his Amaranthe insignia and the hope "vivit post funera virtus—may virtue live after the grave." He goes on: "Christina of the North, the skies yield to you the morning star; your divine intention [numen] descends adorned with flowers [cinthia], when on your behalf the world is easily conquered, and so much is overcome through godly delicacy and labor." To Christina, the Amaranthe was both classical and holy and its symbolic content changed over time. First, it was to indicate a moral example and as an institution celebrating her choice to abstain from marriage. Then, it was a Platonic sublimation of this fact. And last, an attempt not to be cast into oblivion when her abdication act had played out its course. *Dolce nella Memoria.*

Despite disputing Ashmole's claims, Arckenholtz does provide some more information. According to Chanut's memoirs, in 1648, Christina wanted to institute a non-religious order, but she was discouraged by Chanut who claimed that if the order did not have a sacred aim it would be regarded as childs' play.¹³ In 1653, the English diplomat Daniel Whistler mentioned that Christina had instituted an earlier "Order of the Parnasse", that is, an order dedicated to goal of learning.¹⁴ The Order of the Parnasse can hardly, however, be identical to the academic sessions described in the statutes of Descartes in 1650, because Whistler speaks of an "order" seemingly to promote the idea of a society of friends. It is possible that Christina's earlier intent took form in her way of conferring patronage. In the older biographies of Christina's art merchant, the Amsterdam spiritualist Michel Le Blon, it has been claimed that he, in 1644, belonged to a secret lodge along with the Flemish poets Reyer Anslo and Joost van den Vondel, who from their respective Mennonite and Baptist origins later converted to Catholicism. In October 1650, Le Blon offered the Queen some twenty manuscript pieces collected by his acquaintance Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel, among them one with "le titre de *Magia Cabalistica*, duquel il fait très grand estat". Menasseh also wanted to offer her the set of his printed books, excepting the *De Creatione Problemata*. Le Blon added "il m'est avis quil a envie de vous les accorder sur quelques condition que ie ne puis encore bien enten-

¹³ Arckenholtz (1751), p. 385n.

¹⁴ *Loc. cit.* The three leading characters in Poirier's play *Parnassus Triumphans* 1650—Philander, Eudemon, and Dorisel—may shed light of the nature the Order of the Parnasse. The play interestingly enough treats the theme of universal peace.

dre, sans doute pour quelque avantage".¹⁵ This association and the fact that Le Blon translated Jacob Boehme in Stockholm, has given some support to the idea that his assistance to Christina in 1651, for building an Apollonic Temple of learning with antiquities designed in terracotta by Artus Quillinus and described in Reyer Anslo's verses *De Zweedse Pallas* (1647) was an expression of an esoteric (indeed some have said Rosicrucian) understanding.

The project for the buildings perhaps falls together with Helie Poirier's coronation ballet *Parnassus Triumphans* (1650) and with Christina's early practice of giving away a chain of gold attached to a silver medal embossed with her portrait. In 1649, Christina awarded Reyer Anslo a silver medal on a thick gold chain for the panegyric printed with his cycle *Parysche Bruiloft* (1647–1649), a free cantata with voices ascribed to the Royal personalities at the wedding of Henry of Navarre, with a dedication to Le Blon "as dear to me as the light". Anslo wrote verses for Christina's coronation in 1650 and was prepared with a statement at her entrance into Rome.¹⁶ Vondel, whose cantatas can be compared to Milton's and Rebolledo's sacred hymns, in 1654, published the condemned, but celebrated cycle *Lucifer*—on the fallen angels in damnation. He dedicated to Christina his long poem, *Koning Davidz Harpsangen* (1657). Christina awarded Vondel a chain of gold embossed with a silver medal and through Le Blon she sent him her portrait. In 1647, she had given a similar chain to Hugo Grotius. In 1649, one was given to Claude Sarrau.

A further sign of hidden dealings is Vondel's relation to the verses that were falsely spread in his name in 1655, entitled *Christina Maria Alexandra*. Their message was that the Swedish Queen was the whore of Babylon. Her journey to Rome to kneel at the very feet of Alexander VII was emblematic of the Apocalyptic claim that Kings should kneel before the Anti-Christ at the end of time. Shortly thereupon however, Joost van den Vondel himself emerged with a leaflet against the recent forgeries: "To set a crown of thorns upon her head—what blind hatred have thus Christina stung with thorns? When instead like Christ she wears a Crown as God's true sign".¹⁶

¹⁵ H. de la Fontaine Verway, "Michel Le Blon, graveur, kunsthandelaar, diplomaat" in *Drukkers, liefshebbers en piraten in de zeventiende eeuw* 1980, pp. 103–128. The early and unsubstantiated statement that Christina met Vondel in Amsterdam 1654 in Jos. Alb. Thym, "Christina van Zweden te Amsterdam" *Verspreide verhalen in prosa*. Amsterdam 1881. On Le Blon's book offer, K. E. Steneberg, *Kristinatidens Måleri*. Malmö 1955, p. 90.

¹⁶ H. H. Knippenberg, *Reyer Anslo—zijn leven en letterkundig werk*. Amsterdam 1913, p. 81. Karl Erik Steneberg, "Le Blon, Quellinus, Millich and the Swedish

There has never been any more tangible evidence produced to show that Michel le Blon or his poet friends really had any influence on Christina's conversion.¹⁷ But it should be clear that the general classical trend apparent in many courts of Europe was based on Hermetic and Arcadian themes that subsume Le Blon's interest in antiquity, and that he did have friends among various radicals and millenarians in Amsterdam, among them Menasseh ben Israel. The records of secret proceedings at the Stockholm court may not be a fiction as much as misinterpretations of the neo-Greek "Hermetic" aesthetics of the Stockholm court. Queen Christina had advanced plans for a classical remodelling of a wing of the Stockholm castle, and her sketch of a classical mausoleum for Gustavus Adolphus, was perhaps an attempt to connect her line to antiquity as a means of securing the newly achieved empire around the Baltic. While these architectural plans never materialized, they clearly were in line both with the Swedish national interpretations and with other European monarchial trends. The order of the Amaranthe for decorating men of state in 1653 did have a Hermetic oath of allegiance and was conferred after an enactment of an Arcadian theme. But in spite of its appeals to "a heavenly fire that out of the dark night will restore the primal ones", present research can only substantiate that it was a political instrument for binding diplomats to her Habsburg plans.

A more neglected avenue is opened by Arckenholtz' mention of Christina's plans in 1650 to found an order of Jesus, whose sign would be a cross with a revolving sun and the inscription "Immanuel" on one side and a double 'C' for Christina on the other.¹⁸ He further shows that although nothing is known of the result of this proposal, in 1656, Charles Gustavus instituted an order of Jesus, whose statutes he reproduces.¹⁹ Charles Gustavus' order was chivalry in the name of Jesus with specific oaths of allegiance to the King personally and with mention of Christina who had conferred the throne to him. This order of Jesus was a timely appropriation of

Court Parnassus" in Magnus von Platen ed. *Queen Christina—Documents and Studies* 1966. pp. 332-364. The panegyric to Christina is appended to Anslo's cycle on the royal French wedding of Henry of Navarre, *Parysche Bruiloft* (1647-49). p. 91. It treats of how the different royal branches of France convened for the betrothal: Bourbon, Anjou, Guise, and Condé.

¹⁷ P. Leendertz, *Het Leven van Vondel*. Amsterdam 1910, p. 200, 266, 297, 316. *Vondeliana*, Amsterdam UB: *Tegens de Lastvaerzen Koninginne Christine . . .* (1655).

¹⁸ Palmskiöldiana ad anno 1650 Uppsala UB, cited in Arckenholtz (1751), p. 385n.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* II, Appendix.

a sacred theme just before the invasion of Poland which would require an assurance of trust on part of the King's generals at war.

But what had Christina meant with her order of 1650? Why this cross with a sun and the name "Immanuel"? The Bible is in this case an unequivocal guide. The name "Immanuel" is referred to three times in the Scriptures. In the book of Isaiah the name itself appears twice and once it is translated giving a reading of 7:14 as follows: "therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign. Behold a woman shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." Then in Isaiah 8:8 it is said that this name will spread throughout the lands and in Isaiah 8:10 the Hebrew is translated as "God is with us". These verses are common references in Old Testament prophecy on the coming of the Messiah; they also appeared in Gustavus Adolphus' campaign psalms during the Thirty Years War.²⁰ This indicates that the Queen herself was influenced not only by societies of learning, but also by the idea of a sacred chivalry whose insignia would serve a function at her court. Whether her Order, as with Ashmole, is best likened to the Elizabethan order of the Garter or to a more militant Protestant (or generally Christian) quest is difficult to say. One early Swedish historian claims that the Amaranthe order was instituted in 1653 because the Stuart royalist and Scotsman William Bollandine had arrived at court bringing the order of the Garter for Charles Gustavus. Christina refused to have her cousin decorated and instead made him a member of her own order, whose name was taken from the earlier "Wirtschaft". Charles Gustavus became a member of the Order of the Garter first in 1658, after the restoration of Charles II.²¹

In several books, Frances A. Yates has explored the interrelations between Hermetic philosophy and the monarchical image. In the *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, she accounts for the hypothesis that several aspects of the 1620 election of the Palatinate King Fredrick V to the throne of Bohemia can be connected to the seemingly fictional accounts of the Rosicrucian reform movement. Through alchemical allusions and Hermetic philosophy they sought to com-

²⁰ Christina had two paternal uncles: Erik XIV, who instituted the Royal Order of the Saviour and John III, who founded the Royal Order of Agnus Dei. Her grandfather, Gustavus IX, instituted the Royal Order of Iehova in 1606 for his coronation in 1607. Its extremely impressive Chain and Badge (in pure gold and rock crystal) probably influenced the Queen. On display at the Royal Treasury in Stockholm. Adler-Salvius, diplomat with an Hermetic education, therefore suggested the name 'Immanuel' to Christina.

²¹ Arckenholtz (1751), Vol. II, 385n.

bat the Jesuit programme of counterreform. Yates shows that an infusion of ideas stemming from late Renaissance Italian radicals such as Bruno and Campanella, was absorbed by Protestant Hermeticists who combined the images of a Christian utopia, chivalric emblematics, and Christian Kabbalah to revive the idea of a "Militia Evangelica".²² Thomas a Kempis' medieval image of a charismatic order in defence of Christianity had come to be a symbol shared by both Catholic and Protestant apologetics in the Thirty Years War. Yates' account builds around her claim that J. V. Andrae's book *The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz* (1616) involved an alchemical allegory of the Heidelberg wedding between the Palatine Prince Fredrick and his Stuart wife, Elisabeth. She shows that the planners of the campaign to the Prague electorship (where the Protestant Fredrick could gather a double vote on the future emperor of the Reich) was involved in alchemy, and that they used the Palatine symbol of the lion and the Stuart marriage connection to conjure up Fredrick's providential right to the throne.²³ The Heidelberg councillors had spent time at Rudolph II's court at Prague where a circle of Hermetic alchemists, including the natural philosophers Michael Maier and John Dee, had been the center for proto-Rosicrucian ideas.²⁴ Through an amazing set of connections, Yates thus purports to have established an alchemical triangle between the courts of London, Heidelberg, and Prague, to explain the Rosicrucian pamphlets and the near success of Protestant reformers to oppose Catholic Habsburg in 1620.

Critics have claimed that the Hussite Radicals in Bohemia did not need Rosicrucian pamphlets to carry through the defenestration act of 1619 in Prague that catalyzed the causes starting the Thirty Years War. After 1619, it is claimed, no serious person took note of the Rosicrucian legend. Grave criticism is levelled by historians who are cautious of Yates' method of finding parallels in emblematic material and in the mythical content of propagandistic pamphlets. It is denied that the Rosicrucian pamphlets contain anything that the many independent groups striving to save their political and strategic interests in the reformed parts of the German-speaking world, would pay any real tribute. With great accuracy, Richard van Dülmen shows that *The Chemical Wedding* is a youthful statement of J. V. Andrae, written around 1605/1607, thus before

²² Frances Yates (1972), pp. 130–139.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 31 ff.

²⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 70 ff.

his Tübingen production of the *Fama Fraternitatis* (in manuscript already 1609/1611).²⁵ Yates' English connection thus is a mere construction.

Comenius and the Bohemian War

Yet, the case of the Swedish Rosicrucian Johannes Bureus' campaign in 1623 for promoting the image of Gustavus Adolphus as the Lion of the North lends support to Yates' idea that a providential ideology was a major factor in political maneuvers to save the Protestant cause. After the debacle in Prague in 1621 when Frederick the Winter King was forced into exile by Habsburg attacks, the Hussite cause of Bohemia was submerged, and outspoken members of the Moravian brethren had to flee. Instead of enthusiastic Rosicrucian pamphlets, there was an outpouring of pamphlets with the Habsburg eagle tearing the Palatine Lion to pieces.²⁶ Yates focused on one such exile, the Czech millenarian Amos Comenius, who as a member of the Bohemian brethren fastened onto the sacred destiny of the Palatine house as a means of reinstoring Protestantism in Bohemia and Silesia.²⁷ As I have discussed above, Comenius developed a spiritualist metaphysics to ground his plans for an evangelical reconstruction of society that was influenced by J. V. Andrae's Christian Utopia. Comenius' collection of Kotter's visions from 1620, with the frequent mention of a Lion leading the front against the Habsburgs, was added to material gathered as time and events developed.²⁸ As I also have shown, Comenius' promotion in 1651 of the wedding of Sigismund Rakoscy and Henrietta of the Palatinate was based on his view of the sacred destiny to be forged by their dynastic union. Bengt Skytte's influence, the political situation, and Nicholaus Drabicus' prophecies—whose vision no. LIII, of 11 February 1651, is entitled “Ad Regem et Reginam Sueciae, ut Orientalibus manum porrigant cito”—led Comenius to take solace in Charles Gustavus as the future saviour of Protestant Poland, Moravia, and Silesia. Comenius' Pansophist and millenarian scheme from Bohemia does not use Rosicrucian hermetico-alchemical imagery, but some of the themes

²⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 172 ff. For a recent and accurate statement on the Rosicrucians, dividing the activities in a southern (Tübingen) and northern (Prague) branch, see Richard van Dülmen, *Die Utopie einer Christlichen Gesellschaft* Stuttgart 1978.

²⁶ Frances Yates (1972), pp. 55–56.

²⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 156–160.

²⁸ Johan Nordström, “Lejonet från Norden”, *De Yverbornas Ö* 1930. p. 43 ff.

involved in both movements center on selecting the future monarchical saviour of Protestantism. It was a standard millenarian strategy to symbolize future politics through the heraldic signs of royal houses, because the underlying spiritualist metaphysics assumed a close connection between the concepts of genetics, alchemy, and the divine right to monarchical power.

Whatever these connections ultimately indicate, it is fair to conclude that apart from Christina's acquaintance with Comenius' and Dury's reform plans, and with Hermetic doctrines, she was also prepared to use her role as sacred monarch to establish and exploit a Christian millenarian theme. The cult of Gustavus Adolphus in death, his Icon-like portraits decorated with goldleaf and his sign of a selfwounding white Pelican, clearly alluded to sacrifice, sainthood, and a lost cause to be resurrected. While the institution of the order of the Amaranthe, with its sign of immaculate immortal life, may have been an eclectic monarchical self-apotheosis, the background of another pious order, Christina's order of Immanuel, which has left no other trace in the records, leaves her case open for speculation on a secret millenarian connection.

So, Isaac Vossius' lesser known Antwerp catalogue of her manuscripts, now at Oxford, does bear a rose at its front. It is encircled with the German slogan "Erst einen Knop, danach einen Rosen."²⁹ The catalogue lists several medieval variants of the *Roman de la Rose*, and of Merlin's prophecy; it also lists numerous titles on the events of the Crusades and the lives of the Saints. Did they end up in England since Christina thought them uninteresting? Were they perhaps given to Vossius as payment when he was denied passage to Italy? Or do they indicate an attempt to set up a special kind of library? The other copies of the Antwerp catalogue left in the Vatican also intrigue. Their huge collection enlists works on natural philosophy, medecine, and medieval chronicles, works on chronology, politics, and the history of Europe—to make an estimate of its composition would be very difficult. But, the title pages in the Queen's name convey information. The printed sources carry a title-page with a bee and a spider, respectively deriving and pouring honey and poison from, and to, the Bible. The manuscripts are prefaced by the Cross of Lorraine and the dictum "in hoc signo vinces—in this sign you shall conquer." In Antwerp, Vossius and Christina could not have failed to know that this was the sign given

²⁹ Isaac Vossius' Antwerp Catalogue, second version, Ms. D'Orville 42, Bodleian Library, Oxford. First version, Ms. Vat. Lat. 8171. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

to Godefrey of Bouillon, in 1099, on his way to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem during the First Crusade. Basse-Lorraine was then situated between France and the Rhine, covering parts of Flanders and Cologne, enclosing Liège, Luxembourg, and Brabant.

But, stated in esoteric terms, and before we know more on Christina's plans, these connections would probably only hide the details of the influence in Lutheran Sweden of spiritual atomists, church reformers, and millenarian schemes for the restitution of the world so central to an ascending monarchy. Thus, on Christina's twenty-first birthday, the 8 December 1649 (a time not far removed from her proposal of the Order of Immanuel) Johannes Freinshemius held an oration that subsequently, in May 1655, was translated into French. Praising the qualities of the young Queen, Freinshemius said:

ce même age nous avoir fait bonne esperence non seulement de la longue durée; mais encore de la perpuité de la felicité publique: car il se peut faire, à mon avis, que nos passions tous le reste de notre age sous le bon regne de cette Augste Princesse, & qu'il ne se termine qu'à la fin du monde, afin que ne laissant pas ce Sceptre en la main d'aucun successeur, elle le rend a Jesus-Christ retournant de Ciel, qui est l'unique possesseur de tous les Royaumes . . . n'y que j'adjoute foy a ces prognostiques insensez, qui sont devenues vieux en predican journellement leur dernière jour; mis d'autant que ceux qui voyent attentivement la sainte Ecriture, en font naître une certaine conjecture, que cette fabrique de l'univers ne doit pas durer plus d'un siècle . . . DIEU vous a confié un grand thrésor; mais vous le portez en un vaisseau de terre: pour le retenir & conserver, vous avez besoin de la grace de celuy qui vous l'a donnée.³⁰

Freinshemius' cautious millenarian scenario fitted the fabric of praise surrounding the Queen. Christina's status was compared to classical heroines such as Thomyris, Penthesilea, and the Queen of Sheba. But the praise was above all a method for her entourage to make clear that her Divine rights must be upheld so as to fit the fabric of sacred destiny. As posterity has judged, Christina finally grew wary of this commitment, and came to see that these were ideals that should serve another purpose.

³⁰ Arckenholtz (1751) II, p. 117.

PART IV

MILLENARIANISM AND POLITICS

CHAPTER NINE

THE ABDICATION: ALTERING THE SACRED DESTINY

Queen Christina's moment of existential reversal at her abdication on 16 June 1654, occurred at a time when major political changes were awaited in Europe due to the solar eclipse that coming August. In Sweden, the eclipses and the appearance of a comet gave rise to popular rumours about coming catastrophes and an impending war. In January 1653, the Danish Ambassador Juel reported:

For some time we have seen a star, that some think is a comet and . . . the bishop of Linköping relates that in the sky over the town an arm with a sword in hand was extended, that after a while turned into a man, complete and riding a horse. The man then fell to earth and was seen by many witnesses in a church yard, until he suddenly disappeared. The Linköping castle lord, Johan Gyllenstierna, obtained written testimony to the same effect.¹

These strange rumours were also heard at the Stockholm court. In a letter of 12 April 1653, to the astronomer Ismael Bouilleau, Bourdelot reported that the Swedes frequently consider almanacs and that in debates with the Queen some had raised the issue of the recent comet that had made such clamour in Germany.² Christina also sent Raphael Trichet de Fresne to collect measurements on the comet from Uppsala. Earlier, Bourdelot had written to Saumaise to have him send recent prints on the eclipse from Holland to the court in Stockholm. Bouilleau sent him some from France.³ It is thus not an anomaly that Ambassador Whitelocke recorded how, at a royal banquet in Uppsala in 1653, for the recent Anglo-Swedish sea treaty, he was hailed by a group of Swedish students who sang: "One only star, from east, three kings did leade/Most glorious Mars, and Jupiter, brought You to Swede/Who . . . will knot and (lock) ours with your Most martial kingdome./Therefore, no humane craft or policy indeavour/To break that which caelestial

¹ Christian Molbech, "Peder Juul's otryckte brev till Charisius 1651–1655" in *Dansk Historisk Tidskrift* 1:5 1844 pp. 269–408. p. 344. 1 Januari 1653.

² Elisabeth Labrousse *L'Entrée de Saturne au Lion—L'Eclipse de soleil du 12 aout 1654* 1974. p. 23. n. 66.

³ A. Lemoine, E. Lichtenberger, *Trois Familiers du Grand Condé* 1909. Bourdelot to Saumaise, 24 May 1652, p. 272.

signs doth favour/then will we daunt all Europ's stoutest hearts/led on by your Neptune, Jupiter and Mars.”⁴

By thoroughly investigating a similar cryptic comment in Pascal's *Pensées*, Elisabeth Labrousse has recently uncovered a flood of pamphlets showing a widespread consternation during the year 1654 about its relation to millenarian expectations.⁵ Labrousse sought to detect the mentalities behind the pamphlets and found that the contemporary attitudes towards political events were conditioned by astrology and biblical chronology. While historians have settled on seeing the Queen's abdication in favour of her Palatine cousin Charles Gustavus as a self-centered resignation based on the false presumption of a freer atmosphere in the Catholic world, no previous scholar has considered how such sudden political change was viewed by popular understanding. The eclipses of 1653 and the comet of 1652 had raised the levels of expectation and Christina's abdication plan played in the hands of the conclusions that several millenarians, among them the Czech Pansophist Amos Comenius, drew concerning the year 1654.

The abdication was explicitly staged as a transmission of the crown to Charles Gustavus (son of Christina's father's sister and Johan Cassimir of the Palatinate-Zweibrucken) to help confirm his acceptance by Gustavus Adolphus' admirers, who now saw their fate in the hands of a new king accustomed to war. As witnessed by her commemorative coins for Charles Gustavus' coronation, the crown the ex-Queen sets on his head is extolled by the enunciation “From God and Christina,” to promote the interpretation that her act of sharing her inherited fate with her chosen successor would assure the sacred destiny of the nation.⁶ By this emblematic license, her act fitted with a sacred order of events that wedded the genealogy of her house to a series of astrological phenomena waiting to be exploited by political diplomacy. By attending to the significance of this public scenario in this and following chapters, I show how the frequent astrological forecasts for the year of 1656 could have influenced the timing of Christina's abdication to fulfil

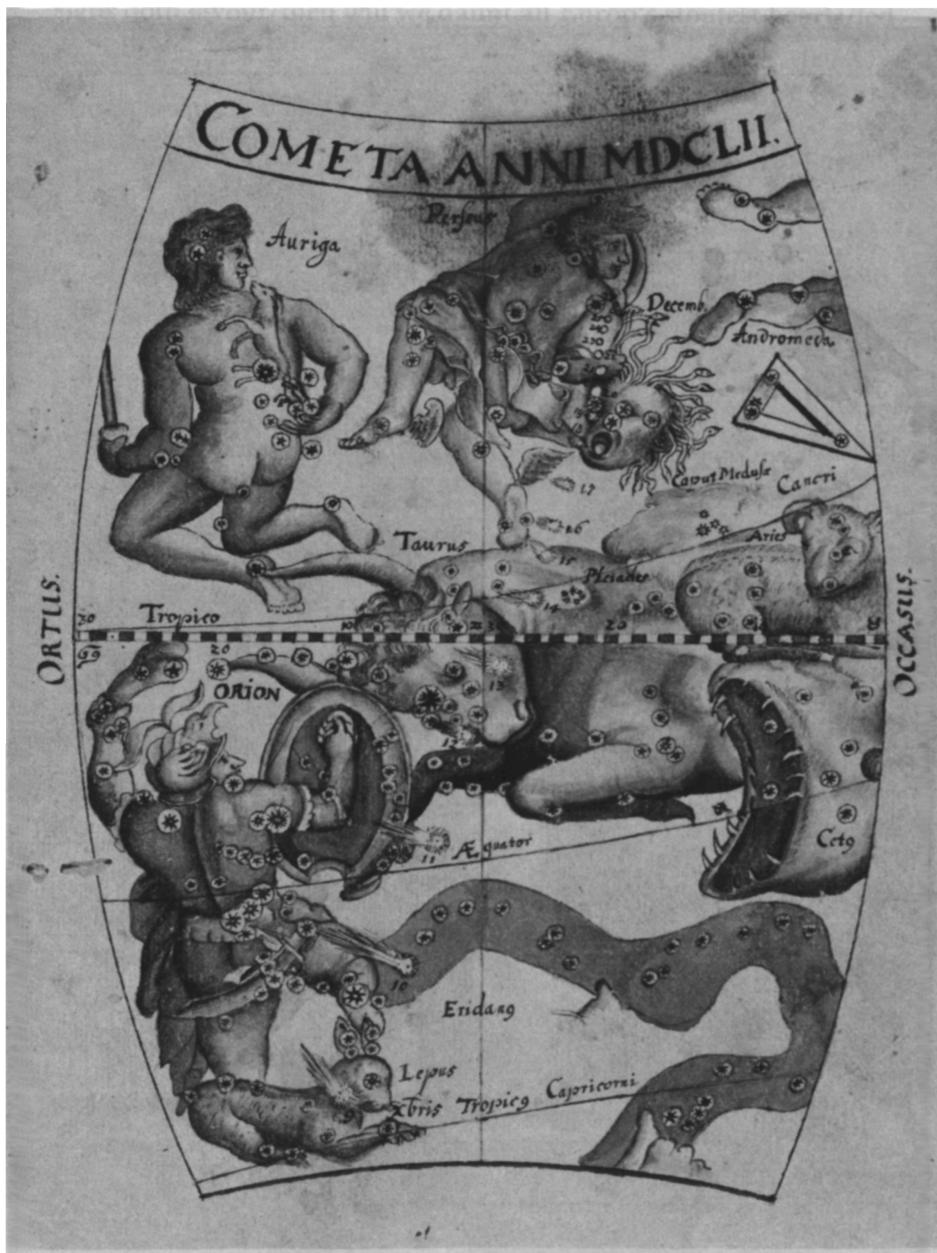
⁴ Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Journal of the Swedish Embassy in the Years 1653 and 1654* 1855.

⁵ Elisabeth Labrousse (1974), p. 1. Pascal comments that there is no justice or injustice [in customary law?] that does not vary with the climate: “Trois degrés d’élévations du pôle renversent toute la jurisprudence, un méridien décide de la vérité; en peu d’années de possession, les lois fondamentales changent; le droit a ses époques, l’entrée de Saturne au Lion nous marque l’origine d’un tel crime. Plaisante justice qu’une rivière borne! Veritez au-delà des Pyrénées, erreur au-delà.” (Lafuma 60/Kaplan 146.)

⁶ A picture of the coin is printed in Arckenholtz (1751), Vol. I, p. 415.



Appolo presents Christina with Stefano della Bella's edition of Italian Poetry.
A gift from Leopold of Tuscany, 1652. Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.



Description of the Comet in December 1652. MS. A502, Uppsala UB f. 1r.

her desire to leave her country for greater designs awaiting on the Continent.⁷

The Conjunction of Saturn and Mars in the Sign of the Lion

The history of prognostics relating to Swedish politics begins with the revival of Tycho Brahe's prophecy, occasioned by the supernova of 1572. Brahe had spoken about how the new star would cause "great alteration and turmoil in matters of Religion." To the east it would bring bloodshed to the Moscovites and Tartars. He predicted the downfall of their tyrannical ruler Ivan the Terrible in the year 1583. To the south it would trouble the Spaniards, especially in the Netherlands and in the realm of religion. He argued further that the comet of 1577 would threaten the Holy Roman Empire. The Spanish would bring trouble in the Saxon circle, but would be counteracted by someone peace-loving arising in the sign of Libra.⁸ Brahe knew that a new star was incompatible with Aristotelian cosmogony and he calculated that the conjunction of 1603 with Saturn and Jupiter in Aries occurs only once in 800 years and he therefore concluded that it may be that "the eternal Sabbath of creation is at hand."⁹

A newly kindled spread of Tycho Brahe's prophecy began around the time of the comet of 1618 when in England Alexander Gil printed his *The New Star of the North Shining upon the Swedish King* (1621).¹⁰ In 1624, the Swedish king's mentor Johannes Bureus met the Rosicrucian alchemist Joachim Morsius and from him learned of a prophecy attributed in Germany to Paracelsus.¹¹ This cryptic prophecy spoke of three treasures hidden in the heart of Germany, in Silesia, and on the French-Spanish border, and told of a Lion of the North coming to save the Protestant cause. In part this drew on the prophetic imagery of the powers of the North in Daniel 11:5, Isaiah 41:25, Jeremiah 50:9, 4:5, Ezekiel 38:15, 39:2, and the third and fourth book of Esdra which now was willfully exploited by

⁷ Information of Christina's intent to abdicate spread at the court as early as 1651. For political reasons, Chanut attempted to delay Christina's move.

⁸ J. R. Christianson, "Tycho Brahe's German treatise on the Comet of 1577" *Isis* 70, no. 251 March 1979, esp. pp. 130–131.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 127.

¹⁰ Alexander Gil, *The New Star of the North Shining Upon the Swedish King* (1621). Reprint in the series "The English Experience, Its Record in Early Printed Books", no. 801, Amsterdam 1976.

¹¹ Sten Lindroth, *Paracelsimen i Sverige* 1943, p. 171–179.

the Swedes for their campaigns of 1626.¹² In 1632, a reprint of Tycho Brahe's prophecy along with Paracelsus' text was spread by the Swedes to prepare the ground for their campaigns in Germany. Brahe had dedicated his findings to Emperor Rudolf II. Also, in Prague in 1564, the Bohemian court mathematician Cyprianus Leovitus had argued that a conjunction of planets in Leo showed that soon after 1588 the Church would be freed, that knowledge would increase, and that the secret arts would become known.

In the Bohemian campaign in 1619, Christopher Kotter's visions also exploited the imagery of a Lion to imply the Palatine king, Fredrick V.¹³ Palatine Protestant interests continued to be alive after the Prague debacle of 1620, reflected in the anonymous pamphlet of 1629 *Wunderbarliche Propheceyung und Weissagung eines Siebenbürgischen Propheten, was sich im Jahr 1630 mit dem Vornembsten Potentaten der Welt, sonderlich aber zwischen dem Keyser, Türcken, Franzosen, Schweden, Hispanien, Bapst, und andere häuptern der Christenheit zugetragen werden* in which the author argues that a northern campaign will liberate Germany, will attack Rome and bring home the Palatine library from the Roman capture, and will finally turn against the Turks in a concerted effort to stop their advance through Europe.¹⁴ The visionary Christina Poniatowska in 1628 had seen Gustavus Adolphus join with the Palatine King in saving her homeland.¹⁵ In reality, Fredrick the Winter King tried to persuade Gustavus Adolphus to restore Palatine influence in Heidelberg, but the Swede had made such conditions that Fredrick withdrew. By the time both Gustavus and Fredrick died in 1632, the policy of preparing the lands of war with biblical analogies to the onslaught before the coming millennium had become a basic element of confessional politics.¹⁶

Around the time for Christina's abdication a similar outbreak of astrological pamphleteering started to draw attention to Hebrew chronology calculating that the span of 1656 years under Noah's covenant before the birth of Christ would repeat itself.¹⁷ The prognostic on the eclipse of 12 August 1654 published in the name

¹² Johan Nordström "Lejonet fran Norden" *Samlaren* 15, 1934. First published in *De Yverbornas O* 1930.

¹³ Frances A. Yates *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* 1972.

¹⁴ Johan Nordström (1934), n. 55.

¹⁵ On Christina Poniatowska see Milada Blekastad *Comenius—Leben, Werk und Schicksal* 1969. pp. 141–148 and *passim*.

¹⁶ Johan Nordström (1934) *passim*.

¹⁷ On the calculations for the renewal of Noah's covenant in the year 1656, see, for example Christopher Hill, "Till' the conversion of the Jews" in R. H. Popkin ed. 1988. pp. 7–38.

of Andreas Argolin had widespread repercussions as millenarians saw it as a confirmation of their scriptural calculations on the year 1656. A typical French version of Argolin's prophecy, called *Prediction Merveilleuse du Sieur Andreas, Astrologue et Mathematicien de Padoue* (1654) can be found in the Chigi collection in Rome. As the Chigi copy recounts: "vers Constantinople cette Eclipse sera horrible et centrale. Le passage de Evangile, 'Sicut in diebus Noe, etc.' qui arriva 'a condicu Mundi 1556 ex calculo Haebrerorum & vulgata editiones', a fait trouver ce sens accomodations à l'anné du Messie, & reparti Mundi 1656." The prognostic carried the message that the darkening of the sun warned of an impending attack by the Turks on Europe, but that Anti-Christ in the form of the house of Habsburg would slow its advance in the two years and four months it would take for the eclipse to spin out its influence.¹⁸ In 1656, there thus would be a sudden increase in catastrophes that would alter the entire political situation in Europe. After the reversal of rulers and the Turkish invasion, the infidels would convert and the unfaithful would be deluged by fire.

Due to the difficulties of knowing the exact dates in biblical chronology, there was some scriptural hesitancy about whether the year 1656 was the final end to Christ's first covenant. The astronomical argument now was picked up by radical Christians as the confirming evidence that their hermeneutics was correct. In spite of its lesser longevity, there thus was a stream of pamphlets commenting on the solar eclipse of 1654 far greater than the ones on the "Black Monday" eclipse seen in England in 1652.¹⁹ In the Netherlands, Abraham van Franckenburg's *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1651) was widely read and its arguments inspired millenarians to await the final return of the Messiah in the year 1655.²⁰ In France, the timing of the eclipse was politically interpreted by dissenters who since the Fronde awaited a time to act against the rule of Mazarin and the young Louis XIV. A remarkable outpouring of pamphlets for and against Argolin's argument ensued. Among them, l'Abbé de Cerizier's pamphlet *Examen de Jugement de l'Argolin sur l'eclipse du mois d'aoust de l'an 1654 A.M. D. C.* drew on the public horror due to the

¹⁸ Pseudo-Argolin's pamphlet p. 4-5, in Elisabeth Labrousse (1974) pp. 21-22.

¹⁹

²⁰ *Clavis Apocalyptica or a prophetical key by which the great mysteries in the Revelation of St. John and the Prophet Daniel are opened; it being made apparent that the Prophetical numbers come to an end with the year of our Lord, 1655. Written by a German D[uctor] and now translated out of high Dutch.* London 1651. Probably by Abraham von Franckenberg, it was circulated in Comenius' circle.

recent revolts and the beheading of Charles I in England and brought to attention Christina's recent abdication in June 1654.²¹ To counter these ideas, Pierre Petit published a pamphlet *L'Eclipse de soleil du 12 d'aoust 1654 ou Raisonnemens contre ses pronostiques*, pointing out that the deaths of Henri IV in France and Charles I in England were not preceded by any remarkable eclipse.²² The levels of credulity differed. Pierre Gassendi in 1653 argued in his *Sentiments sur l'eclipse qui doit arriver le 12 du mois d'aoust prochain* that catastrophes are no sure consequence of unusual but predictable celestial phenomena.²³ Several astrologers aligned with the Habsburg crown also took this line of argument, comparing their prognostics for the same phenomena, and concluding that Argolin's claims were misdirected.²⁴

In Sweden, speculation on the comet rose and was published anonymously in the international pamphlet, *Beshrvynge van den Comeet, gesien Anno 1652 . . . gedaen van een Astrologyn in Zweden*. (Groeningen 1653). It also was stated as *Descriptio Cometae qui apparuit Anno 1652 et ejusdem explicatio facta. Ab astrologyn Uppsaliente*. It promises to reveal "cabalistae et peritiores Astrologi opiniantur, si figuram & cursum eorum diligentur inspexirimus."²⁵ No era had seen a more flagrant and vicious comet. In England, the popular astrologer William Lilly soon began a career as a prognosticator of Charles Gustavus' remarkable success in war. Already in 1650, in his *Monarchy or no Monarchy* (1650) Lilly had considered that the King talked about in older prophecies might be a forthcoming Swedish Prince. "The Charles of Charles to be descended, is not yet visible or alive; And before any such *Magnus Carolus in rerum natura* can be, the House of Austria must be overthrown . . ." Speaking of Christina he wrote: "If this Queen marry one whose name be Charles, and she turn Papist, a thing very unlikely, then her husband may be the father or Predecessor of such a great Charles as [the German Prophet] Grebner dreamed of."²⁶

²¹ Elisabeth Labrousse (1974) p. 1.

²² *Ibid.* p. 23, n. 65.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 2.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 15 ff.

²⁵ *Beshrvynge van den Comeet, gesien Anno 1652 . . . Ab astrologyn Uppsaliente*. Groeningen 1653. p. 12.

²⁶ Folke Dahl, "King Charles Gustavus and the Astrologers William Lilly & John Gadbury" *Lychnos* 1937. pp. 161–186. William Lilly, *Monarchy or no Monarchy* 1651. p. 29. Lilly claims that the Fifth Monarchy men held that the Princess of Sweden was weak in 1650. Further he held that God makes the Masaniellos and the Johns of Leiden (the former the Napolitanian fisherman of 1647, the latter the Anabaptist at Munster, both popular rebels) his instruments of vengeance, not a

At her coronation in 1650, Christina was seen as embodying the sacred destiny of the Swedish Baltic imperium and its attempts to preserve the Protestant quest of Gustavus Adolphus, who after his death lived on as a semi-messianic figure. His fate was still remembered through the abundant use of pamphlets, gilded iconic portraits, and his own emblem of a self-wounding white pelican, inspired from images of restitution found in the Old Testament understanding of history.²⁷

Thus, the period between 1654 and 1656 was closely watched by theologically inspired political observers as being a period when great changes of the designs of European politics could be expected. One thus cannot dismiss out of hand the observation that the eclipse of 1654 is concurrent with Queen Christina's abdication and her subsequent enthusiastic involvement in political plans for a general peace between France and Spain. I believe that this new perspective on the abdication highlights an often neglected, specifically millenarian aspect of the political maneuvering Christina was accustomed to. Many facts about the abdication fit with the assumption that her strange behaviour was her way of acting out a scenario tied to the awaited age of reconstruction. There is good evidence for this. The fate of Charles Gustavus, for example, shows the strength of millenarian views in northern Europe.

Charles Gustavus and the Millenarian Hopes

Not long after the Queen's departure from Stockholm, a messianic allegory was applied to the newly crowned Palatine prince Charles Gustavus. One such statement was the anonymous Theophilus Meinfreund's forecast for the year 1655.²⁸ Another was Simon Wollimhaus' strange millenarian chronology *Zwölf Lutherische Kirchen—der von der Anfang der Welt gewesen und bleiben müssen biss an dem lieben jüngsten Tag* (1655), written to strengthen the Lutheran

Cyrus or an Alexander. The tract seems to be written to avert the idea of taking the then present Scot, King James, as "the one of the great house of the north that shall enlighten the whole world" p. 64.

²⁷ One such icon-portrait is to be seen at the Baroque Museum at Skokloster castle. The pelican adorned Gustavus Adolphus while on lit-de-parade. Christina had, for example, a pair of gloves with this insignia.

²⁸ Surviving astrological charts on the comet and the eclipses in Sweden in this period include: Johannes Keding 1652 and Caspar Marchen 1653. Stephanus Fuhrman 1654, and several by Caspar Shwartzs and Hermann de Werve. De Werve's prophecy from 1631 on the fate of the "Eagle" can be found in the Vatican papers written in 1655, Chigi Ms. E VI 205. Bibl. Apost. Vat. On Polish reactions to the comet see, K. E. Jordt-Jorgensen, *Stanislaw Lubieniecki* 1968. p. 89.

faith of the new king.²⁹ Wollimhaus' publication was a shorter version of a three volume work, dedicated to Queen Christina in 1652, in which he also divides history into twelve heart and world hours related to the millenium. Wollimhaus was a well known figure in Stockholm. In 1647, he made a bet with the grand old Rosicrucian Johannes Bureus about the time for the end of the world.³⁰ Bureus believed that the ultimate jubilee would arrive in the form of Postel's Universal Monarchy, which Postel envisioned to take place through the rise of a new Monarch and "scatterer of all the dew", who would establish, and sustain the new world. Bureus thought that the people to restore the world and to seal Noah's covenant were the Swedes, since they had peculiar biblical properties, stemming from Japhet and being unadulterated by much of history since the Flood.

Bureus thus had long argued that 1648 was the crucial year, but Simon Wollimhaus now delayed the event some further years ahead. But he also pointed to scripture prophecy about how the Northern powers would hide till the near end of the days. In the manuscript given to Christina, Wollimhaus exemplifies recent prophecies. Philippus Nicolai's selection of the year 1670, Georgi Olais' 1655, Martinus Gestrinus' 1660, and Bartholemeus Ringvald's *VenI VeLoX IUDICIUM*, that he translates to intend the year 1654. The manuscript frontispiece carries the quote: "Be thou faithful unto death and I shall give you the crown of life" (Rev. 2:10). Wollimhaus then alludes to the Queen as ruling over a revived Protestantism: "Lutherus mortuus 1547, Die concordia sub I. C. V.—Lutherus Redivivus 1648, Die Concordia sub R. M. S. C."

By the marginal entry "8 dec. 1649 (NB)", i.e., Christina's twenty-first birthday, Wollimhaus writes of the Queen of Sheba in Egypt. He then quotes Matthew 12:42 "The Queen of the South shall rise up in judgment of this generation and shall condemn it: for she came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and, behold, a greater than Solomon is here." Wollimhaus puts a quote of Luke 1:34, 35 on the last volume front. It speaks of Mary and "that holy thing which shall be born of thee and shall be called the Son of God."

The greater part of this millenarian work is a chronology of the world according to Scripture showing that the Old Testament figures from Adam and Eve through Noah, and numerous kings

²⁹ Title page reprinted in Sten Lindroth *Svensk Lardomshistoria—Stormaktstiden* 1975. p. 121.

³⁰ Sten Lindroth, (1943). p. 235 n. 6.

from David through Joshua to the Goths, were all Lutheran in spirit. The twelve-section history ends with the ascent of the “*tria miracula Gustaviana*”—the first Wasa, the unparalleled Adolphus, followed by Charles Gustavus himself, the Queen’s “Generalissimo”. Her reign will be instrumental in ending the “*Europeischen Babel*”.³¹

Wollimhaus’ printed book of 1655 is openly pro-Gustavian and ends with a tripartite comparison of Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Catholicism as an attempt to fight back recent Calvinist and Catholic influence. The remarkable rainbows seen in the north and the east on the day of Charles Gustavus’ coronation were taken as a divine sign for his coming ascendancy in defence of Lutheranism.³² Wollimhaus pointed to Scripture’s prophecy that the Northern powers would hide until the near end of days (Zach 6:8), and to the rainbow sealing Noah’s covenant with God (Gen 9:13), as well as to the biblical tales of the sun standing still and reversing its course (Joh 10:13, 4 Kings 22:11).³³ And now God through the honourable Queen Christina of the Roman “*Reich*”, shortly before the end of the world, had divided the land as foresaid in Dan 2:41. Christina in her unprecedented role had rendered the land similar to the statue of iron with feet of clay, and as we all live in the world’s last quarter hour, it was now time for Charles Gustavus to take the initiative against the Papist sinflood.³⁴

Charles Gustavus’ curiously rapid ascent turned much attention on his 1656 campaign in Poland. The Protestant cause in eastern Europe had a long legacy of desperate resistance to Habsburg power and now suddenly it seemed to have a chance to prevail by divine intervention from the north. In England, a union between Cromwell and the Swede was awaited.³⁵ In 1647, William Lilly had exchanged views with the millenarian astrologer Arise Evans who was trying to foresee who was the awaited political messiah for the new covenant promised by scriptural chronology. Evans foresaw the restoration of the house of Stuart. In March 1655, in conversation

³¹ Simon Wollimhaus, *Zwölf Welt- und Herzstunden* . . . 1652. Uppsala UUB. 3 Vol. Vol. III also displays the trilogy: “Aenigma Pium E.M.V Luc 21:36—Ein Jungfrau geboren war M.M.D. Gen 2:22—Eine Jungfrau ohne Man geboren C.R.S. Luc I:34–35.”

³² Simon Wollimhaus, *Zwölf Lutherische Kirchen, welche vom anfang der Welt gewesen, und bleiben müssen biss an dem lieben jüngsten Tag*. Stockholm 1655. p. 47.

³³ *Ibid.* see the dedicatory introduction.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ On Charles Gustavus’ and Rakoscy’s millenarian roles in the Polish war see also G. H. Williams, *The Polish Brethren—The History and Thought of Unitarianism . . . 1601–1685* 1980 n. 102, 122. pp. 587–589.

with Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel, he learned about Isaac La Peyrère's recent theory: "That the time wherin their Messiah should appear was come, but that King *Charles Steeward* was he, that he could not believe, for he could not believe that ever King *Charles* should rise again and be restored to his Empire, *but said he*, Oliver, Protector, or the King of Swedland is more liken to do it than he, and especially the King of *France* is the most likest to be our Messiah. If he be a Gentile, and be in this part of the world."³⁶ In answer to the rabbi, Evans instead confirmed his own nationalist ideas by pointing to medieval records proving that the King of England actually is the King of France.³⁷ In a similar conjunction of allegiances, in 1655 Lilly had professed in his Almanac for 1657 that the Lord Protector would join with the Swedish King, whom he now saw as unparalleled by "any king, prince, people, or nation".³⁸

Also Comenius and his followers were intent on regarding the Swedish King as instrumental for the restitution of the Protestant world. In November 1654, Comenius' associate, Count Sadowsky, reported that he had sent a particular shrine to Charles Gustavus. It had completely altered the new King's carefree attitude.³⁹ The shrine contained Michael Drabicus' recent prophecy on the fate of Bohemia, which Comenius printed in the edition *Lux in Tenebris* (1657) together with Christopher Kotter's visions of 1620 and Christina Poniatowska's visions of 1628. The Lion prophecy was now applied to Charles Gustavus who was seen to hold the providential Palatine role. The Swedish church historian Sven Göransson has shown that millenarian themes played a major role in the Swedish attack on Poland in 1656. He tends to conclude that these were propaganda methods and that the cause of the war was material considerations, such as a perceived need on the Swedish side to hold back Russian interest in the area by a preemptive strike.⁴⁰ However, his documentation of the apocalyptic Protestant activity in England, Holland, and Poland relating to the Swedish-Polish war (and its influence on Christina's tutor Johannes Matthiae) is extensive and he shows how wide spread were translations of Amos Comenius' systematic millenarian tract *Panegyricus Carolo*

³⁶ Richard H. Popkin, "Menasseh Ben Israel and Isaac La Peyrère II" *Studia Rosenthaliana* vol. xviii, 41984 pp. 12–20.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 16. Christopher Hill, "Arise Evans: Welshman in London" *Change and Continuity* 1974.

³⁸ Folke Dahl (1937). p. 166.

³⁹ Milada Blekastad (1969).

⁴⁰ Sven Göransson, *Den Europeiska konfessions politikens upplösning 1654–1660* 1956.

Gustavus (1655). Here Comenius spurs on the Swedes to help the cause of Siebenburgen through attacking Habsburg influence in Poland and by strengthening the front against the Turks, benefit the cause of the whole of Christendom.⁴¹

From his refuge in Amsterdam, Comenius also gave a luxury edition of *Lux in Tenebris* to Georg II Rakoscy of Siebenburgen, causing the rumour that Rakoscy had decided to join the Swedes with the prospect of himself becoming Protestant King of Poland. In 1657, when Charles Gustavus suddenly broke away from Poland to save his own nation from an impending Danish attack, the Protestant alliance was blotted out. Brandenburg and the Cossacks switched sides, and Georg II Rakoscy was left with a total debacle that threw Poland into new massacres resembling those of 1648 when the Chielmienicki Cossacks migrating away from Russian territory had rampaged the Polish countryside. Instead, the Catholic King Johan Cassimir Wasa could triumphantly return to claim with providential certainty that the presence of the heavenly Queen of Poland, his spiritual betrothed, the Black Madonna of Chestochowa, had held back the Swedish deluge.⁴²

The Swedish King seemed to continue his sacred destiny through his Old-Testament-like endeavour to march over the ice to Denmark. But when Charles Gustavus died suddenly of pneumonia in 1660, the Protestant incursion into Habsburg land came to an end. The dimension of disappointment at the time is shown by the anonymous pamphlets that now emerged, first *A party betweene the Ghosts of the late Protector and the King of Sweden, at their meeting in Hell* (1660) and then *Hell's higher court of Justice* (1661) treating of the corrupt views of Cromwell, Charles Gustavus, Mazarin, and the most damned of political cynics, Machiavelli. The anonymous anti-unionist author depicts Charles Gustavus receiving for his exploits the punishment of being confined for an eternity to a vast and boundless desert.⁴³ In spite of these accusations of a self-interested expansionism, Charles Gustavus seems to have been sincerely convinced of his role. In the newly captured Danish terrain he planned to raise a statue of himself, standing watching westward among celestial globes and astrological signs.⁴⁴ Others continued the quest. The Monarchist Gadbury now presented a

⁴¹ Milada Blekastad (1969).

⁴² Sven Göransson (1956), p. 198. George Huntston Williams, (1980) no. 28, 29, pp. 519–545–591.

⁴³ Sven Göransson (1956), pp. 316–329.

⁴⁴ Kurt Johannesson, *I Polstjärnans tecken* 1968. See, also Folke Dahl (1937). p. 169.

new almanac. Extolling the rise of Charles II he wrote with conviction: "In private councils; and in public wars, kings only act as acted by stars."⁴⁵

Theatrum Cometicum

"One should know enough about medicine and astrology not to be fooled by physicians and astrologers," Christina wrote late in life.⁴⁶ In 1650, for the coronation of the Queen, Andreas Goldmeyer presented her an astrological chart stating the nasty circumstances of phlegm and bile to show that Christina was exceptionally ill-suited to conceive children. Recently, Kjell Lekeby has shown that these charts were commissioned by Charles Gustavus and he argues that it may have been an attempt to convince the Queen of her inability to have heirs in order to increase her dislike of marriage into a self-fulfilling prophecy. If he is correct, Lekeby's interpretation adds evidence to viewing the Messenius-conspiracy as directed by supporters of Charles Gustavus against the Queen.

In 1652, another astrologer, Andreas Argolin, dedicated to the Queen a work that referred to Brahe's supernova in trying to confirm the theory of astrology by casting the nativity of Gustavus Adolphus twenty years after his death.⁴⁷ The Queen's libertine views do not seem to have altered her judgment of these predictions, and we know that even the materialist World Soul thinkers did not discount celestial influences.

Also, independently, after the abdication, Christina pursued knowledge derived from the astral firmament. Her involvement with established Catholic astrologers was, however, not as dogmatically anomalous as her relation to World Soul philosophers and Catholic alchemists. In 1656, she sought out Father Jean Baptiste Morin S. J., in Paris. Morin had cast Gustavus Adolphus' nativity for Richelieu and claimed to own Gustavus Adolphus' magical sword. A picture of the sword is reprinted in Arckenholz' 1751 biography of Christina, where he suggested that Morin lied about the origin of the sword.⁴⁸ Judging from the drawing, the

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 172.

⁴⁶ Marginal addition no. 58 in Sven Stolpe ed., *Les Sentiments heroiques* 1959. p. 88.

⁴⁷ Andreas Argolin, *De Diebus Critics & De aegrorum decubitu opus Nauticam, Agricolam et artem Medicam observantur* (1652), and his *Ptolemaius Parvus in genethliacula junctus arabibus* (1652). Comp. Arckenholz (1751) Vol. II, p. 211.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 210n. For a recent statement on the Sword see Francois Secret, "Un épisode oublié de la Vie Peiresc: Le Sabre Magique de Gustave Adolphe" *Dix-Septième Siècle* 1978.

coded inscriptions are signs of the Zodiac and initials reversed and shifted, but recognizable as Royal insignia. The drama of Gustavus Adolphus' magical sword spread further when Christina's acquaintance in Rome, the Jesuit Egyptologist Athanasius Kircher, reportedly tried to decode the message by Kabbalist permutations.⁴⁹

Morin's and Kircher's interest in these strange codes was just one aspect of the continuing preoccupation with Gustavus Adolphus' sacred role in the Thirty Years War. Also in the Catholic world, many writers, including some with covert philo-Protestant tendencies, used the story of the death of the Swedish King as a semi-messianic story of martyrdom. Morin's *Astrologica Gallica* (1656) was given to Christina when she visited Paris, and (along with a reprint of Morin's attempt *Quod Deus Sit* from 1635 of a geometrical proof for the existence of God) it defended Ptolemaic cosmogony against Copernicus' and Galileo's heliocentric revisions. Morin concluded that the potential of political reversals caused by the astral firmament still was to be expected.⁵⁰ From their first discussions in 1652, the Jesuits had reported that Christina was particularly interested in Galileo's new world-system. She had stated that she wanted to get in contact with Jesuits skilled in "mathematics". It may indicate that her prime concern was the quasi-astrological specialty of discerning chronology to political events. This conjecture is supported by the fact that in Rome 1656, the Jesuit father and Hermeticist Athanasius Kircher dedicated the first edition of his *Itinerarium Exstaticum quo Mundi opificium id est Coelesti expansi* (1656) to Christina. The *Itinerarium* describes a dream in which Kircher as "Theodidacticus" is accompanied by the angel "Cosmius" through Tycho's planetary system.⁵¹

In Rome towards the end of her life, Christina chartered Cardinal Azzolino as candidate for the Papacy, reportedly on the advice of an astrological prediction by Giuseppe Mazzoni.⁵² She also, however, revealed tendencies to disbelieve the theory of prognostics. In 1687, after hearing of the Huguenot expectations for Wilhelm of Orange, she cynically commented "la judicière terrestre est mieux que la céleste", clearly aware of the propaganda purposes these predictions could be put to in political maneuvering.⁵³ But,

⁴⁹ Lynn Thorndike, *The History of Magic and Experimental Science* 1958, vol. VII.

⁵⁰ On the use of Gustavus Adolphus within the Catholic world, G. Spini, *Ricerche dei libertini* 1983 (1950).

⁵¹ John E. Fletcher, "Astronomy in the life and correspondence of Athanasius Kircher" *Isis* 1970, pp. 52-67. On *Iter Exstaticum* pp. 57-58.

⁵² Paul Sonnino, *Louis XIV's View of the Papacy 1661-1667* 1966.

⁵³ Arckenholtz (1751) Vol II, p. 297. 22 Jan. 1689.

some years earlier, she had written a draft called *Pronostiques de la reine Christine*, four pages claiming that by the mere penetration of her spirit and her perfect, intimate, and general, understanding of the world and the interests of states, princes, and courts, she had made incomparable predictions.⁵⁴ She had said that Europe would resolve to recognize the French King as master or that the whole world would end up against him, which also happened. She had predicted the war against the Turks long before it took place. She had warned Charles Gustavus not to start the Polish onslaught and the King had later ceded to her point, she had predicted who was going to become Azzolino's worst enemies in Papal intrigues, she had known that if Louis XIV had captured Amsterdam he would have gained the Dutch Republic, if not he would lose the whole dominion, and so on.⁵⁵

In conversation, Kjell Lekeby has suggested to me that this leaflet may account for Christina's less well known epithet "the Sibyl of the North"—a name referring to her powers of divination. In her *Autobiography*, Christina recalls that she was born with a "helmet of victory", that is with the placenta around her head. This rare way of birth was traditionally taken to mean that the child was going to have powers of vision. Christina's recollection of this event thus is related to her interest in connecting politics to chronology. A standard method of chronology was to inspire devotion for God by showing that the prophecies of the Bible had been benignly and minutely fulfilled. Always *ex post facto*; not by divination. Her mitigated acceptance of astrological advice probably centered on a triple purpose: of seeking out the truth of the astrological theory, and of seeing current political alternatives to her future course, but also of coming psychologically closer to her famed father whom she had barely known and whose shadow still shaped her life.

But other types of astro-physical events also interested her, as when she supported works that limited their scope to the exact recording of celestial phenomena. She financed Domenico Cassini's 1663 work on the double comets of 1664–65. Cassini traced the route of the comet on an astral globe and invited Christina to his observatory on the relevant nights. He also gave her a "gnomon", a device for tracking the path of the sun by giving the corresponding meridians.

In the same year she financed Stanislaus Lubieniecki's work of

⁵⁴ Sven Stolpe (1959) p. 118–116.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Vol II. p. 105.

compiling evidence on comets since the Flood.⁵⁶ In his *Theatrum Cometicum* (1667), he tried to show that the history of comets, and current views on the influence of comets on terrestrial events, cannot justify holding them to foreshadow catastrophic events. Comets cannot be correlated with political events, yet they show the presence of the divine and the Bethlehem star was probably a comet. Astrological records for predicting events must have seemed futile to Christina after she read the *Theatrum Cometicum*, because its large context and the collaboration of several European observers demonstrate that astrological predictions are local misreadings of events. Christina received her copy first in 1673. Significantly, on page 314, Lubieniecki states that Christina believed that Gustavus Adolphus' birth and death was predicted by Tycho's new star.⁵⁷

A very common argument in the Calvinist world was that two years after the double comet of 1664–65, a new apex was to be reached in history. Because of the mention of the number of the Beast in the book of Revelations, 1666 was thought to be the year of the second coming of Christ. Is it possible that Christina's pursuit of the comets was related to this prediction? According to Spanish records, in 1655 in Brussels, Christina read the revelations of St. Bridget (among them, of course, is her vision of a sinful, lionlike woman, flanked by two dark men who torture her, she bleeds and there is a vessel of flame and fire, which in 1372 was given to Queen Joan of Naples). In the same year, she also read Nostradamus' prophecies: the 1649 edition is in Vossius' Antwerp-catalogue of her books. It was produced during the Fronde and the verses were arranged in order to show French history leading up to the degradation of Mazarin. However, in 1655 and then in 1657, new editions with new arrangements were produced in Belgium, to fit the turmoil produced under Spanish control. It is interesting that some of the early editions, such as the 1611 of Troyes, have a preface that takes St. Bridget to reveal the rise of Nostradamus. Both works were interpreted as guiding the selection of a political leader who by unifying the warring factions would settle the tensions in Europe. The Antwerp catalogue also records Guillaume Postel's central work *Le Thresor des propheties de l'univers* (1547) in which the myths surrounding the Royal name "Carol", the expeditions of the "gaouls", and the Fleur-de-Lys are used to indicate French prophetic superiority. As I discuss below, the Prince of

⁵⁶ K. E. Jordt-Jørgensen (1968), p. 104.

⁵⁷ I am thankful to Kjell Lekeby for drawing my attention to page 314 in Lubieniecki (1667).

Condé certainly knew the content of this work and Isaac La Peyrière used it for his speculations. Both in theory and in practise Christina thus must have been very well informed about the inner workings of the expected transformations. In Hamburg in 1666, Christina wrote to Azzolino and mentioned current German theories about a union between the east and the north in defence of Christendom. She also ironically alluded to having seen Alexander VII's wheelchair in Joachim di Fiore's prophecy—the standard medieval root of millenarian speculation on a coming third age of the Spirit and the unification of Europe under a Christian king.⁵⁸

Millenarian interpretation of history, stemming from the rich Joachite tradition, had been influential in Scotland at the ascension of James I, and the image of the Lion of the North was a new element in the Elisabethan theme of imperial reformation. In the German university town of Tübingen, Simon Studion had published a chronological key to the Revelations, the *Naometria* (1604), that then triggered J. V. Andrae's first Rosicrucian pamphlets. At Oxford, Samuel Hartlib and the mathematician John Pell had given cues to the withdrawn theologian Joseph Mede who then set forth a full system for interpreting the book of Revelations. Mede's impressive hermeneutics and colourful chronological charts gave rise to a whole English school of expectations and calculations on the year awaited.⁵⁹ The Calvinist commentary on Revelations 20 conceived of the second coming as a reign of Christ on earth together with a handful of Godly who had been weighed in the balance. Lutheran theology repeatedly denounced this doctrine of hidden grace, but for them also the literal interpretations of the Scripture and their problem of selecting a future Protestant saviour had focused attention on the nature of Israel. It was now interpreted as actually being the Jews.

A typical such millenarian statement also reached Sweden. The pamphlet of 1645 by the theologian D. R., given in English translation as *The Morning Alarum* (1651), bears a dedication to a Princess E-L "of Germany, and to the end it might be communicated to the Queen Mother of Sweden, and unto divers other Princes and Prin-

⁵⁸ Spanish reports from Madrid on Christina reading St. Bridget in 1655 in De Barrionuevo, *Avisos . . .* 1657. The saint was concerned with the war between Germany and France, while Nostradamus predicts the rise (and fall) of a Universal Monarch and lays weight on the role of France. Carl Bildt, *Christine de Suède et le Cardinal Azzolino* 1899. Christina to Azzolino 17 November 1666, p. 267.

⁵⁹ Charles Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton* 1982. Peter Toon, *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel* 1970.

cesses there.”⁶⁰ The author tells of a disputation with two antagonists concerning recent transgressions against Acts Ch. 15 and 21. He had showed them a book called “the Annuntiation Pacifique to all Princes of Europe. Printed in High German, 1640” and had argued for his key to the Revelations.⁶¹ His argument is the standard one: he sees the prophesied monarchies of Assyria, Persia, Alexandria and Rome (with the seven Kings being a string of Roman emperors) ending with the rise of the Papal seat as Anti-Christ. Then he goes on to point out:

The Calling, Conversion, and salvation of the *Jewes*, of, and by Jesus Christ, and of all the house of *Israel*, when the fullness of the Gentiles shall be come in; that is to say, the number of the Gentiles that God hath ordained to Salvation, being full, all the *Jewes* being converted to the Lord Jesus, is the Judaicall Christian Church (and true spouse of Christ) being prefigured and represented by a woman great with Childe: read *Revel.* 12 the whole chapter.⁶²

The author then explains that the book of Revelations implies that “the woman that fled into the wilderness” will have to hide for 1260 days before “Jesus Christ shall sit upon the Throne of *David* his father, and shall reigne Spiritually and temporally here below with his Elect, over all the universal Earth.”⁶³ The Jews thus ought to understand that after they have converted they will have to “endure and suffer persecution for the Name of the Lord.”⁶⁴ So while the end is near, the prize is great, and many have thought that they could abrogate the covenant with God:

The Examples being fresh, of Germany in the yeare 1618 untill the present hour, *Bohemia*, the *Palatinate*, and other places (look upon *England*) . . . you know very well that our God has not spared them (notwithstanding that they boasted, and are boasting, that they are Gospellers; and reformed, but rather deformed).⁶⁵

Other rebels have appeared in “the *Rochellers* and many other places in *France*.”⁶⁶ So now, our author begs, judge for yourselves of the true road to the rebuilding of Jerusalem and of Canaan and the thousand year reign of Christ with his saints here on earth.

⁶⁰ D.R. (anon.) *The Morning Alarum—an Epistle sent to one of the Princes of Germany: Treating in briefe, of the Order of the four Monarchs, The calling of the Jewes, The rebuilding of Jerusalem . . .* London 1651. translated by Nathaniel Johnson. Noticed by B. S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*. Oxford 1972. p. 237.

⁶¹ *The Morning Alarum . . .* p. 2.

⁶² *Ibid.* p. 18.

⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 23.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 19.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. 36.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 36.

The pamphlet's intended reader, Queen Christina's mother Marie Eleonore, had been declared insane after Gustavus Adolphus' death in 1632 and was temporarily imprisoned at Gripsholm to facilitate the Council's control of the young Queen's education.⁶⁷ It has been argued that the two never developed any deep emotional attachment and that Christina fiercely opposed the Calvinism of her mother. Johan Nordström has brought attention to their exchange on salvation, where Christina curtly claimed that *everyone* will be saved, both Gentiles and Christians.⁶⁸ Nordström saw this as an indication of Christina's careful avoidance of her mother's Calvinist ideas, perhaps as was occasioned by a pamphlet like the *Morning Alarum*. But it probably is no coincidence that Christina's idea on a universal salvation comes close to the "Judaizing" opinions of texts such as Bodin's *Heptaplomeres*. As I show below, Christina's relations to other messianic thinkers indicates that her ideas on a universal salvation do not necessarily preclude a millenarian scenario.

It is true that when the years consecutively failed to produce the expected events others, including Henry More and Isaac Newton, calculated that the millenium must lie further ahead. But it is also true that the hopes continued. It was only the comet of 1680, in the midst of blazing Huguenot millenarianism, that stirred a fully reasoned account of the argument against celestial influence on political affairs, brought forward by Pierre Bayle's *Pensée sur la Comète* (1682), and even then it was presented with careful avoidance of explicitly addressing the related question of divine providence. Bayle refers to Lubieniecki's pathbreaking work, but Bayle's reasoning was grounded in the Sceptical tradition that doubted any claims to general knowledge and his aim was to show that atheism, while not desirable, is not necessarily morally corrupt.⁶⁹

In 1680 Christina set up a prize for the one who could calculate

⁶⁷ Marie Eleonore was long considered as an hysterick, but modern reinterpretation has questioned this tradition and has found that her yearlong mourning rites for Gustavus Adolphus were typical of her German background. In her *Autobiography*, Christina recalls that she had a peculiar "respect" for her, but she confesses a "deadly aversion" towards "the pack of dwarfs" in her mother's entourage. She feared that her mother would intervene in her studies: "Thus I was delighted when my study hours called me to my rooms . . . I dashed to them engulfed by an immense joy and often came much too early. I studied six hours in the morning and six hours in the evening".

⁶⁸ Johan Nordström, "Cartesius och Drottning Kristinas omvändelse" *Lychnos* 1940.

⁶⁹ See, for example, the introductory discussion of *Pensées sur la comète* by Elisabeth Labrousse in the reprint of the 1724 edition of Pierre Bayle, *Oeuvres Diverses*. G. E. Olms Verlag, Heidelberg 1964–1969. 6 vols.

the comet's exact route over the firmament. Apparently there were unusual cosmographic reasons for doing so: Antoine Arnauld reported that he could not believe,

ce que l'on dit à Rome de M. Cassini et autres astronomes de France, qu'ils pretendent que depuis le tremblement de terre, la terre s'est rapprochée du pole (ce qui ne signifie rien) de sorte que la France est a peu près présentement dans la même situation où était auparavant la Holland ou la Suede. On ne peut pas s'imaginer une plus grande folie . . .⁷⁰

The rumour of a cosmic alteration of affairs, a changing of the poles, and an ascendancy of France to replace the northern powers, is intriguing because Cassini's studies on the impending comet were governed by the view that it was identical to Tycho's new star of 1577, and if correctly tracked its future recurrence could be exactly foretold. In 1691, Sir Edmund Halley performed this feat in identifying the comet of 1682 as the one sought for, but by then the Queen was gone.⁷¹ As for her motivations, her earlier interests make likely that she set up the prize in order to get an accurate scheme for determining the validity of astrological predictions on the comet, predictions in whose general influence and utility she probably had not lost faith.

⁷⁰ E. Jacques, "Arnauld, Cassini et la Comète de 1680" *Lias* I 1974, pp. 5–20. Note no. 5, Arnauld's letter to L. P. Du Vaucel in Rome.

⁷¹ Halley completed his calculations in 1691, see also Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. II. p. 269. for Christina's support for a new work upon reading Matthias Wasmuths, *Annalium Coeli & Temporum restitutorum sive operis astrochronologici* Kiel 1684. Parts of his *Novum Opus Astro-Chrono-Historicarum Tabularum Christinanae Astro-Chrono-logicae* 1686 are found in the Montpellier Collection, H 258 bis, I. f. 137 ff. Comp. Ch. III of this book, n. 25.

CHAPTER TEN

CHRISTINA AND THE JEWS

Christina's involvement with Jewish bankers in Hamburg and Antwerp to assure her financial aspirations to live an independent life are well documented, but only slight attention has been given to the question of whether this also had a deeper intellectual significance.¹ Christina's early biographer, Johan Arckenholtz (1751), conjectured that the Jewish approaches to the Swedish court were attempts to open Sweden for Jewish immigration. More recently, David S. Katz has showed how Menasseh ben Israel's 1655 apology for resettlement of Jews in Oliver Cromwell's England was an outcome of a failed attempt to interest Queen Christina in sponsoring his comprehensive edition of rabbinical Judaica.² It is still conceivable that Jewish intellectuals assimilated the Swedish political conditions to their special interest in England, which they saw partly as territory for peaceful settlement and partly as ground for an important act in the historical enfoldment of a messianic drama. A scholarly debate on the possibility that the American Indians actually were the lost tribes of Jews mentioned in the Bible, had turned attention to the last remaining continents to be populated by Jews—the remote islands of England and Scandinavia. Settlement here would fulfil biblical prophecy on the dispersion of the Ten Tribes of Israel.³

Philo-Semitic advocates in mid-seventeenth century Europe had to take account of the special social situation of European Jewry. The expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and five years later

¹ Hugo Valentin, "Drottning Kristina av Sveriges Judiska forbindelser" *Festschrift* . . . 1923 pp. 213–237. See also his *Judarnas Historia i Sverige* 1924. The upsurge of Jewish studies in Sweden in the 1660s is documented in Hans-Joachim Schoeps, *Philosemitismus im Barock* 1952. For a recent very useful general survey of the economic and spiritual influence of Jewish traders and bankers on western finance see Jonathan I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism 1550–1750*. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1985. See also the recent modern edition of H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden—von . . . (1618) bis zum . . . (1750)* 1868.

² Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. I, p. 304. David S. Katz, "Menasseh Ben Israel's mission to Queen Christina of Sweden, 1651–1655" *Jewish Social Studies* vol. xiv 1983, pp. 57–72.

³ For Menasseh's millenarian scenario, David S. Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of Jews to England (1603–1655)* 1982. Richard H. Popkin, ed. *Menasseh Ben Israel and His World* 1989.

from Portugal, had driven large numbers of Jews to convert to Christianity. As Marranos or “New Christians”, they had been forced to accept Catholicism and could practise Judaism only in secret. When recurrent persecutions still followed, many fled the Iberian peninsula to resettle in Holland or the free towns of Italy and Germany. Christina’s bankers were recent refugees, but through their contacts with southern Europe they had continued to trade overseas to the Americas and even within the Spanish market in the Netherlands. Their family connections in dispersion, their knowledge of languages and their uprootedness gave them a capacity to take greater risks than usual. Against a background of death, torture, and auto-de-fés, most Marranos had lost their contact with religious practice and lived in a peculiar religious vacuum that stimulated new developments in theology. Some turned to millenarianism, hoping and waiting for relief while they tried to establish a new form of life of their own.⁴

In the same period, the northern European states developed a new secular *raison d'état*. A mercantilist search for economic advantages led to the Jews being given freedom to trade in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Glückstadt, and other places. There was also an upsurge of Hebraic studies due to the increased attention to the claims made by reformation theologians that the Church of Rome had lost its initial purity. In his classic study *Philosemitismus im Barock*, Hans Joachim Schoeps points out that there are several kinds of philo-Semitism that ought to be distinguished: 1) The Christian missionary type, where a favourable attitude to the Jews stems from the Christian’s wish to understand his own origins and to spread the gospel. 2) The biblical chiliast type where the Jews are seen positively as having a part in the last days of the world drama. 3) The utilitarian type where one supports Jews as it promises to bring advantages. 4) The liberal humanitarian type who wants to prove its principles of tolerance and equal rights also for the case of Jews. 5) The strictly religious type where a decision of belief leads one closer to the Jewish religion or where one chooses to convert to it.⁵

Most common in the Baroque period is the combination of motives 2 and 3, while the fourth motive was to be common in the eighteenth century Enlightenment period. The fifth motive has been attributed to several thinkers who were interested in a return to the early Christian church, or who by comparative studies came

⁴ Comp. Joachim I. Israel (1985) and H. Graetz (1868).

⁵ Hans Joachim Schoeps (1952) pp. 1–2.

to hold that the legal order of Judaism was a preferable moral universe. Scholars such as Jean Bodin (1529–1596) and Claude Saumaise are thought to have come close to this position.⁶ Schoeps points out that a mixture of motives 2 and 3 was the ground for Menasseh's and Oliver Cromwell's considerations in 1655. Menasseh ben Israel (1604–1657) in his *The Hope of Israel* (1650) stated the possibility of fulfilling the prophecy of Daniel 12:7 by scattering the peoples of Israel to all continents, while also practically securing them peaceful settlement. Thus, in his *Humble addresses* (1655) Menasseh argues in two parts: first in a chapter called "How Profitable the Nation of the Jews are", then in a second called "How Faithful the Nation of the Jews are" so as to combine an economical argument with traditional apocalyptic prophecy. Oliver Cromwell was as a biblicist concerned about the destiny of "God's people", the Puritans saw England as the new Israel, and the conjectures that Hebrew and Welsh were akin were taken seriously. As a mercantilist, Cromwell also saw in a Jewish settlement a chance for England to diminish the trading power of Holland.

What argument existed in Sweden at the time? Swedish historical research on questions that combine politics and theology have stressed a combination of reasons 1 and 3. The Swedish intervention in the Thirty Years War is most often explained as being from pragmatic motives in combination with an expansionist Evangelism. For example, the significant immigration of Walloon Protestants to Sweden is explained by its economical utility to the nation's iron industry. Although no particular sympathy from Swedish Lutherans existed for the immigration of Belgian Calvinists, it was economically very successful. The Swedes were persuaded not only by the Walloon's abilities in mining and iron crafts, but also by the idea that, at least in theory, Catholic France lost some political prestige. Consequential, one could explain Swedish philo-Semitism (or rather lack thereof) from this viewpoint as well. In the case of the Jews, no clear national, confessional, or political interest existed, and trading advantages without a corresponding productive ability did not seem convincing to the mercantilist mind. Menasseh's project thus more or less depended on the second part of the offer; namely, on the promise of religious advantage—the imminent coming of the last days.

In a protocol of 1667, De la Gardie refers to a discussion in 1648 in the Swedish state council on the possibility of introducing a

⁶ On Jean Bodin, see Joachim I. Israel (1985) pp. 36–38, on Claude Saumaise, see Richard H. Popkin (1987) and above Ch. IV.

Jewish trading family in Gothenburg. It may be identical to an undated case noted in Uppsala. According to it, the Hamburg Jews had given a big offer to Queen Christina about settling capital in Gothenburg in return for freedom of worship. Axel Oxenstiern opposed the settlement; he saw Jewish immigration as a political risk because there existed several individuals in Sweden with visions of a new Israel and who preached a return to the early Christian church with its mainly Jewish customs. It was Oxenstiern's opinion that the Old Testament "had a Jewish sourdough" that easily could spread among reformers to the detriment of centralized control.⁷

The popular so-called "Judaizing" opinions, that now and then took expression in claims for further Protestant reform, centered on having Sabbath on Saturday. But they also concerned biblical evidence against the idea of God's trinity, scepticism against the immaculate conception of Christ expressed in a tendency to blaspheme against Mary, a denial of the existence of hell, and doubts about the rising of the dead on the last day. As the events in Siebenbürgen and England showed there were real possibilities for new schisms, and so when not even a special offer to settle a wealthy trading family in Gothenburg was considered worthwhile, why should one admit scores of Jewish families, most of them without monetary contacts or abilities? The Swedish neglect of Menasseh's projects thus seems to be due to the real political judgment that a general Jewish immigration would not pay off. Thus we could see Menasseh as arguing from viewpoints 2 and 3, and see the Swedish government as arguing from 1 and 3, and thereby explain Menasseh's disappointment and his greater enthusiasm for the case of England.

But the situation was more complicated than this scenario admits. Schoeps' neat separation of categories may not reflect the varied emphasis given to political and religious considerations at different times. In 1650, Queen Christina seems to have had utilitarian arguments at hand when she considered that Johan Klaesson Risingh's *Tractat om Kiöphandeln*—a treatise on trade—should be published. Risingh proposed that along with Calvinists, Jews ought to be tolerated because of their ability in money management. The argument did not have much weight with the council that apparently was cautious on religious grounds. How-

⁷ De la Gardie in the council 8 Nov and 19 Nov 1667, Hugo Valentin (1924), p. 24. Ellen Fries, "Johan Klaesson Risingh" *Historisk Tidskrift* Stockholm 1896, esp. pp. 32, 36.

ever, it is possible to separate out Christina's view about Jews, a relation that tends to grow in importance over the years after the abdication. In view of her many sided involvement with the Jewish world, her actions can be variously interpreted: 1) More clearly than others she understood the economic value of Jewish traders but she tended to overlook the importance of religious risks. (Schoeps, Kellenbenz) 2) As an early Enlightenment thinker she was persuaded about the principles of general tolerance and she was easily moved by the fate of the persecuted Jews. (Valentin, Stolpe) 3) Through her studies in contemporary theological linguistics, she was prepared to accept the biblico-chiliast argument and also in her search for a satisfactory religion came to know Universalisms close to a "Judaizing" opinion. (Partially implicit in Arckenholtz).

I believe that it is possible to show that Christina's interest in the Jewish cause was not solely one of a financial nature—and that it was connected to Menasseh ben Israel's belief that Sweden would suit his millenarian hopes. Christina's involvement had at least three dimensions: First, her interest in the Hebrew language and the approaches of Hebraists; then, the intellectual background of her Jewish traders and bankers; finally, her specific actions in protection of Jewish interests.

Hebraism

Christina learned Hebrew early from the Uppsala theologian Johannes Elia Terserus (1605–1674) who in turn had been the student of the Hamburg rabbi, David Cohen de Lara. Christina later acquired the Paris Orientalist Gilbert Gaulmin's Hebrew and Arabic manuscripts for her library, and as the Antwerp catalogue shows, Isaac Vossius and others took an interest in them. Thus, in October 1654, Heinsius wrote from Stockholm that he was going to return to Vossius the copy of a work called *Arca Rabbinica*. The Swedish Hebraists, like Terserus, had used their Hebrew for a new polyglot version of the Bible commissioned by Christina—a project that got as far as a completed Pentateuch.⁸ De Lara, a learned scholar of the Portuguese community, in 1638 had presented a Greek-Latin-Spanish lexicon to Johan Adler Salvius, the Swedish statesman and close counsellor to Christina, who in 1631–34 and 1635–1643 was Swedish representative in Hamburg. The lexicon, *Ir David sive de convenientia vocabulorum Rabbinicorum cum Graecis et*

⁸ Hugo Valentin (1923) p. 218.

quibusdam aliis linguis Europaeis (Amsterdam 1638) explains Hebrew terminology from the Talmud and the Midrash, etc. Twenty copies of the lexicon were sent by Salvius to Paris, and it is likely that Cohen de Lara was interested in obtaining understanding among Christians for Jewish religious ideas.⁹ Christina's earliest contact with learned Judaism came through Salvius' friend, the medical doctor Benedict de Castro (Baruch Nehemias 1597–1684). Baruch De Castro visited Sweden in 1645 and in 1652. In 1660 he was appointed special medicus to Christina in Hamburg. She consulted him also towards the end of 1666 and in 1667.

Baruch was the son of the famous doctor Rodrigo De Castro, whose book on gynecological medicine *Liber de Universa Mulierum Medecina* (Hamburg 1603) was well known. Baruch had studied at Padua and Leiden where he met Hugo Grotius and became a Hebrew physician. Under the pseudonym Philotheus Castellus, in 1629 he wrote a defence of the threatened right of Portuguese Jews to practice medicine. In 1662, Baruch let republish his father's *Medicus-Politicus sive De Officis Medico-Politicus Tractatus* (Hamburg 1662), a compendium promising to detect fraud and imposture in medicine, with criticisms of the Paracelsians. Still, it expounds on the Platonism of Leone Ebreo' *Dialogue d'Amore* and the use of aphrodisiacs, and in the chapter "De Fascinatione" it refers to the Kabbalist's notion of "Deificatio"—of how the soul joins with the supernal. Baruch De Castro's small treatise on fevers *Monomachia sive certamen medicum, quo verus in febre synocha putrida cum cruris inflammatione medendi usus venae sectionem in brachia demonstrantur* (Hamburg 1647) was presented to Christina with a preface by the Amsterdam medical doctor and famous Rabbi Isaac Aboab. In general, the analysis of fevers was seen as part of the study of temperaments and their disturbances—de Castro's work probably was apt to Christina's emerging neurotic character. His letter to her in 1646 alludes to the sun. Situated in the midst of the planets it will through diffusion drive out the horrid nightly clouds, transforming the opaque light into exhilarating and lifegiving rays. The twenty year old Queen is then given an image of war, peace, and fertility: "Sed non imbellem progenerat aquila columbam, imo potius simili frondescit virga metallo." The fever that in 1648, as Chanut asserts, shall have made Christina make a vow to become Catholic because of its positive view of virginity, possibly went without its control.¹⁰

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 214.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 213–216. Hans Joachim Schoeps, "Die Sephardische Arztfamilie

As I have described above, in 1651 the Amsterdam engraver and art dealer Michel Le Blon told Christina that a collection of Hebrew manuscripts from Poland were obtainable through the Jewish rabbi Menasseh ben Israel.¹¹ Le Blon circulated among many Amsterdam religious radicals such as Peter Felgenhauer and Abraham van Franckenburg, the editor of the German mystic Jacob Boehme, and thereby met with Menasseh ben Israel who spent much time persuading Christian millenarians to study Hebraic sources. Le Blon, who had in Stockholm translated Jacob Boehme's little prayer book, apparently saw a chance for them to propound their views in Sweden. When he travelled to Stockholm in 1651 he brought Christina a Hebrew sonnet written by Menasseh with a Latin translation. The sonnet, which also was given as a presentation copy to Adler-Salvius, is a panegyrical hymn in which the rabbi puns on the Hebrew words קשת *keshet* (bow) and קס *keset* (quill), thus trying to conjure up an image of Christina as being in power of both pen and sword. In further correspondence in March 1651 with Isaac Vossius, Menasseh proposed to commemorate to the Queen either his main work *Conciliador o de la convenencia de los lungares de la S. Escriptura, qui repugnantes entre si paracen* (1-4 Amsterdam 1632-1651) in which he expounds on Scriptural prophecy and tries to reconcile the various inconsistencies found in the Bible, or his *Nishmat Chajim, De Resurrectione de los Muertes* (1636); a treatise on the pre-existence and immortality of the Soul, developing the doctrine that only the just are resurrected.¹²

Menasseh then offered to be the editor of a new version of the Talmud translated into Spanish—in order to set out clearly its Hebraic origins. He also needed sponsors for a Spanish World Atlas that would be of great service for all of Europe. He sent the Queen all his printed work and proposed to travel through Germany and Italy to obtain Hebrew manuscripts for Christina's growing library. In March 1651, he suggested to Vossius that his work *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* ought to be published as a catalogue of the Stockholm holdings of Hebraica. Each book or manuscript should get an entry in the catalogue, the writer's life and views should be presented, and even the contents of rabbinical literature not obtainable in the court library would be described. Menasseh

de Castro—ein Beitrag zur Medecin Geschichte des Barock.” in *Ein weites Feld—Gessamte Aufsätze*. Haude & Spener, Berlin 1980. pp. 137-162, esp. pp. 144-145. On Nordström's theory of the fever in 1648, see my chapter on Descartes.

¹¹ Fontaine Verway, H. de la, “Michel Le Blon—Graveur, Kunsthändelaar, Diplomat”, *Drukkers, liefhebbers en piraten in de zeventiende eeuw* 1980. pp. 103-128.

¹² Hugo Valentin (1923) pp. 219-220.

wrote that "the whole of Christendom has been sighing to obtain" this catalogue and he planned that his work on the bibliography would occupy his full time for a duration of four years.¹³

Menasseh's attempt to commemorate the *Consiliador* with Christina's name is interesting. The *Consiliador* is a complicated work which compiles 210 Hebrew and 54 Greek, Latin, Spanish and Portuguese sources to show that the proposed inconsistencies of the Bible all can be rendered plain with correct exegesis. Authorities such as Euripides and Vergil, Plato and Aristotle, Augustin, Albertus Magnus and Duns Scotus are cited along with the Zohar and the Midrash, Maimonides and Leon Hebreo, Gabirol and Nachmanides, Paul de Burgos and Nicholaus de Lyra, Isaac Luria and Moses Cordovero. As the sheer length of this list of Greek and Jewish philosophers, poets, and Kabbalists indicates, the work is a gigantic attempt to bring philosophical thought, Christian and Jewish, to the problem of biblical interpretation. Grounded in Jewish traditional reasoning, the work also introduces Kabbalist methods and Apocalyptic projections. Menasseh's student Dionysios Vossius (the brother of Isaac) had translated the first book (out of four) into Latin in 1633. The *Conciliador* was meant to be a bridge between the Jewish and the Christian world.¹⁴ If Menasseh's mission to Christina was an attempt to extend his millenarian intercultural work, then the philological studies at the Stockholm court must have appeared as an ideal context for the continuance of his ideas.

As it turned out, Christina could not meet these financial undertakings and her librarian Isaac Vossius had to pay out of his own pocket for the Hebrew manuscripts Menasseh had already sent: a sum of 360 imperials. As thanks for this help, Menasseh dedicated to Vossius one of his most outspokenly messianic tracts on the revelations of Daniel, *Piedra Gloriosa o de la Estetuta de Nebudchadnesar* (Amsterdam 1655). Vossius' copy contains four etchings by Rembrandt, illustrating four main images on how the holy stone, first appearing in a vision of Ezekiel, in the book of Daniel signifies the Messiah: 1) the image seen by Nebuchadnezzar in his dream, a statue whose two legs representing Romanism and Mohammedan-

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 220–221. A. K. Offenberg, "Brief van Menasseh ben Israel aan Isaac Vossius, 2 februari 1652" in *Historische sprokkelingen . . . aangeboden aan meur Dr. M. Feinwel* 1985, pp. 55–64.

¹⁴ Hugo Valentin (1923) pp. 216–217. On Menasseh's early period and relation to Dionysius Vossius see Aaron L. Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis—Seventeenth Century Apologetics and the Study of Maimonides' Mishneh Tora*. Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge Mass. 1984.

ism are soon to be crushed by a stone. Dan 2:31–35. 2) Daniel's dream of the four beasts representing the four kingdom's of Antiquity: Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome. Dan 7:1–14. 3) Jakob's dream of the ladder: Jakob sleeps on a stone and sees three angels representing three lost Monarchies preceding the restored Jerusalem. Gen 28:11–15. 4) The slaying of Goliath by Daniel representing the triumph of the Messiah over the temporal world.¹⁵

It has been a point of debate why Menasseh would try to meet Christina in person when he realized he could not get the commissions he sought. When Christina was in Antwerp in August 1654, Menasseh had a long discussion with her after handing over yet another panegyric; this speech of praise was also published for public reknown. The standard interpretation has been that Menasseh thought that he, through this move, could finally get Christina to pay him for his Hebrew projects. However, no such money ever came forward. Menasseh instead learned of Isaac La Peyrière's millenarian ideas by borrowing Christina's copy of *Du rappel des Juifs* (1643). He probably also met Isaac la Peyrière in person, since on Condé's orders La Peyrière lived in the house next to the ex-Queen. Shortly after his Antwerp trip, Menasseh went back to Amsterdam and in a public debate he proclaimed that he now knew that the time for the Millenium was very near. Menasseh's friend Peter Felgenhauer published his *Bonum Nuncium Israeli* (Amsterdam, 1655) in which he sees an apocalyptic meaning in the Thirty Years War, the Chielminiecki pogroms of Poland in 1648, and the recent comets of 1618, 1648, and 1652, but that now spread the hope that both Jews and Christians would be saved. Knowing that Christina was not to return, Menasseh abandoned his Swedish project. In September 1655, after publishing his *Piedra Gloriosa*, Menasseh left Amsterdam for England in order to obtain admission of Jewish settlers on English soil. A copy of the *Conciliador* was given to Oliver Cromwell. *Nishmat Chajim* was dedicated to Conrad van Beuningen (1622–1693), Dutch Ambassador in Stockholm, burgomaster of Amsterdam, and Dutch editor of Jacob Boehme's work, who was influenced by the Rijnsbergh Collegiants and enthusiastically spread millenarian ideas.¹⁶

¹⁵ Reprinted in H. van der Waal, "Rembrandt's Etchings for Menasseh Ben Israel's *Piedra Gloriosa*" *Steps towards Rembrandt—Collected Articles 1937–1972*. North Holland Publ. Amsterdam 1974. pp. 113–124.

¹⁶ On van Beuningen, see Michael John Petry, "Behmenism and Spinozism in the Religious Culture of the Netherlands, 1660–1730" *Spinoza in der Frühzeit seiner Religiösen Wirkung*. Wolfenbüttler studien zur Aufklärung, Band 12. 1984. pp. 111–147. esp. p. 113.

Jewish Bankers

Because of the abdication, Christina lacked the financial and political means to realize Menasseh's aspirations. Instead, Menasseh turned his plans to Cromwell's England. While Christina's attitude to massive Jewish immigration remains uncertain, we know she intervened on a smaller scale as when she was willing to underwrite a recommendation letter to Oliver Cromwell for the Jewish brothers Simon and Henriques de Casseres for their planned trade with the Antilles in 1653. Gothenburg, Hamburg, and Ostende would be suitable parts for the trading ships the de Casseres provided. In 1655, Simon de Casseres resolved to settle in England in support of Menasseh's plea to the parliament. Records show how he later tried to persuade Cromwell to send a Jewish fleet for settlement in Chile in the New World.¹⁷

To help her in her need for good monetary advice, the Spanish legate Don Antonio Pimentel introduced Christina to some financially able Jewish bankers: In Antwerp Don Garcia de Yllan and in Hamburg Diego Teixera and his son Manoel. They were part of an international network and had contacts with Juan Nuñez Henriques in Amsterdam, Manuel Valensin in Venice, and Sanches Nuñez and Roy Lopez in Rome. In 1654, in the Spanish Netherlands, Christina lived with Garcia de Yllan, a Spanish Jewish wooltrader who, like the Teixeras, had fled the Inquisition. Garcia De Yllan's understanding of the sufferings of Sephardic Jewry was deeply personal. He had been forced to represent the Saraiva family in watching the Auto-de-Fé of relapsed Jews in 1636. In 1632, he was imprisoned and had to flee Spain for France. He returned and was once again imprisoned. He suffered torture and finally fled north in 1638. In Belgium, he used his Jewish family connections to build up insurance "asentistas" or consortia for the bullion trade to the Americas. His wealth was made in the peak financing period of the Spanish crown contracts and the military commander for the Spanish road of arms, Count de Fuensaldaña, supported his position as "provedor general de viveres" for the troops of the Spanish Netherlands. De Yllan was three times the leader of the Antwerp Jews. They had not been granted freedom of religion, but were seldomly forced to act as Catholic "New

¹⁷ Hugo Valentin (1923) p. 234. On Simon de Casseres, see Lucien Wolf, "American elements in the resettlement" *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society in England* III, 1899. pp. 95–96. Interestingly, Simon de Casseres was Spinoza's brother-in-law (noticed also by Lucien Wolf in a later article), but the philosopher seems to have been estranged from his family.

Christians". De Yllan's success as a trader at the bourse exchange in Antwerp made it possible for his son to hold the title "Lord of Bornival". Christina had a hand in this recognition. Through Pimentel's dispatches to Madrid she requested that De Yllan be given an official title. At any rate, de Yllan's connections made it possible for Isaac Vossius to deposit Christina's library on the gallery floor of the Antwerp stockmarket. Until his death in 1655, De Yllan supplied Christina with financial assistance. He delivered to her some Flemish tapestries that were to decorate her palace in Rome. They included nine pieces on the history of David, seven pieces on the story of Ulysses, on Orlando Furioso and the Moors, and pieces on Cleopatra, Scipio, Caesar, and Hannibal.¹⁸

Diego Teixerá was a relapsed Marrano who had made considerable financial success in trading bullion and imports from South America. He was handling Spanish-Swedish financial relations. The Teixerás had amassed great wealth through their trade in sugar, diamonds, cacao, slaves, and through the insurance of shipping over seas. They were thus in a good position to provide Christina with financial assistance throughout her life after the abdication. Christina stayed at their house on her way to Belgium and was to return there several times for yearlong stays.

When Christina first travelled from Halmstad to Altona, Manoel Teixerá accompanied her in her carriage into Hamburg. She stayed in his house not only on the way to Rome but also in 1660 on the way to Sweden after Charles X died, and for almost a year in between May 1661 and April 1662. In 1655, Christina made Diego Teixerá her permanent financial resident in Hamburg. In Fontainebleau in 1657, she allowed him a yearly income of 1000 ecus in return for his regulation of her Swedish pension. She kept him as an advisor until his death in April 1666, when she transferred the same rights to his son Manoel. The Teixerás were to provide her with a steady flow of financing, transmitting the yearly payments from Sweden. In the abdication statutes, Christina had been given the income from the estates in the city of Norrköping and from Wol-

¹⁸ Hugo Valentin (1923), p. 226. Joachim I. Israel (1985), p. 227. C. G. Burenstam, *La Reine Christine de Suède à Anvers et Bruxelles 1654–1655*. Brussels 1891. Jean Denucé, "Königin von Zweden te Antwerpen, 1654", en Don Garcia de Yllan", *Antwerpse Archivenblad*, ser. 2, no. 2, pp. 31–36. Antwerp 1927. Hans Pohl, "Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen (1557–1648)—zur geschichte einer minderheit" *Viertel Jahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschafts Geschichte*. Beiheft no. 63. Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden 1977.

gast, in Pommerania, and from the islands of Gotland, Öland, and Ösel.¹⁹

The Jews of Hamburg had several privileges; they did not have to wear special clothes identifying them as Jews and they could practice their religion in relative peace. The economic advantages were too great to ignore, so the magistrate of Hamburg tended to overlook the myths of blood libel and other accusations that flourished in this period. Still, there was no understanding of Christina's wish to stay in the house of a Jew. Asked why she stayed with Jews rather than with Christians, she replied: "Christ himself had lived all his life among Jews, that he himself stemmed from Jewish seed and that he preferred their company to any other people's." To another citizen, in words that in fact may have been even more resounding, Christina said in a laugh that "the reason for her taking in by the Jews was that she wanted to convert them and make also them Christians."²⁰

When her pension shrank at the death of Charles Gustavus in 1660, she grew ever more dependent on good financing. In 1661, Christina had to realize her assets in jewelry from Teixerá's relative Juan Nuñez Henriques of Amsterdam. Also others used this method of survival, Jewish court bankers were in vogue among the German nobility. Her example was followed by other Swedes who invested in Teixerá's banking schemes: The Walloon mining brothers Jacob and Abraham Momma-Renstierna used their financing connections, General Carl Gustaf Wrangel imported their chocolate-cacao, and Jacob Sparwenfeld stayed with them during his search for Swedish-Gothic roots and relations.

The most remarkable fact of Christina's relation to the Teixerá's is that she was staying with Hamburg Jews in 1666 at the peak time for the Jewish messianic movement of Sabbatai Sevi—a charisma-

¹⁹ On the Teixerás, see Hugo Valentin (1923) pp. 221–226. Joachim I. Israel (1985) pp. 138–139. Hermann Kellenbenz, "Diego und Manuel Teixerá und ihr Hamburger Unternehmen". *Viertel Jahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* Band 42 Heft 4, 1955. Also his "Sephardim an der unteren Elbe—ihre Wirtschaftliche und Politische bedeutung vom Ende des 16. bis zum beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts" *VJ SWG*, Beiheft no. 40 1958. On the Jews in Rome, Emil Daniels, "Christine von Schweden", *Preussischen Jahrbüchern* 96:3, 97:1, Berlin 1899. Arne Losman, *Carl Gustav Wrangel och Europa* 1980.

²⁰ David S. Katz (1983), Hugo Valentin (1923), p. 224. On the conversion of Jews, Arnold Isselhorst t. Jakob Westhoff (Lübeck), Hamburg 13 July 1654. She had said in a lively tone that "Sie were darumb bey dem Juden eingekehret, dass sie hoffete, sie wolte denselben bekehren und auch zum Christen machen . . ." Staats Archiv Danzig, Acta Internuntiorum LXXXIX. Printed in "Drottning Kristina i Hamburg 1654" *Historisk Tidskrift* 1894, pp. 22–24.

tic mystic who through his prophet Nathan of Gaza had created a stir throughout the Jewish world by claiming to be the Messiah. 1666 was a year of plague in Rome, so Christina stayed in Hamburg from June 22nd through April 28th 1667, living with the Teixerá's relative Emanuel Nuñez da Costa. Then she went as planned to Sweden, but returned 10th of June and stayed in Hamburg until October 20th 1668. Teixerá was "Chaham", i.e., a religious authority, of the Hamburg community, at the time of the messianic expectation. Christina's physician, Baruch de Castro, was an ardent believer in Sabbatai Sevi and is known to have physically threatened Rabbi Cohen de Lara who protested against the messianic dances in the Synagogue on the Sabbath. Sabbatai had disclosed to the world that he as the Messiah could assume the role of Israel in atoning for human sin; the Jews thus now for the first time were relieved from the obligation to observe the minutiae of the Law. De Castro also financed the publishing of the Sabbatean-Kabbalist work of Moses Gedera Abudiente, *Fin de los Dias* (Glückstadt 1666), where it is announced that Sabbatai Sevi's recent imprisonment by the Sultan of Constantinople is a sign of the imminent redemption of the world. Teixerá, De Castro, and a third Hamburg Jew, Dionys Mussaphia, sent two delegates to Constantinople to get some more news about the mystical Messiah.²¹ In her letters to Cardinal Azzolino, Christina never mentions this extraordinary transformation of the Jewish community. But it seems unlikely that she who lived with Jews did not know about the movement, and perhaps her move from Teixerá to Da Costa was directly linked to the banker's role in the ecstatic salutations of the news from the east. She was however affected by apocalyptic expectations of a more mundane sort when she was reached by a horoscope cast in Italy a year earlier that prophesied a great trembling of the nations, rebellions, and change of rulers.

Christina seems to have lived in a state of melancholy and tension this year. Hoping to become ruler of Bremen, she devoted her time to alchemy and wrote daily letters on political events to Cardinal Azzolino. She realized that she could not resettle in Sweden and her thoughts on the Polish elective throne began to take form. Her correspondence with Cardinal Azzolino is focused on the events that are relevant to her political future and thus there is no direct way of knowing what she thought about the Jewish messianic movement. We know that this messianism had some

²¹ Gershom Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi—the Mystical Messiah 1626–1676* 1973. pp. 574–575, 583–588. Hans Joachim Schoeps, (1980) p. 145.

influence on other Swedes. The Swedish millenarian Anders Kempe later wrote a work, *Israel's erfreuliche Botschaft* (1688), in which he claims that the Christian churches pursue idolatry and that a return to having Sabbath on Saturdays would be a first step to a revived Christianity.²² Kempe dedicated his book to Manoel Teixera, but when he tried to settle in Hamburg he was expelled from the city as his prophetic claims proved to be disrupting. Teixera, who had questioned Kempe on the role of the comet of 1680, refused to accept his dedication.²³

Teixera's role as the leader of the Jewish community was sensitive. There was talk of him having to move away from the town as he was pressed by popular animosity and as the city prevented his community from building a new synagogue. Christina had to intervene several times to make the Hamburg council accept his trade and in 1663 even called on the help of the Swedish council to blockade the city when they refused. In 1665, Christina wrote to the magistrates of Hamburg telling them that Teixera ought not be persecuted for his religion, but that he, like everyone else, must be tolerated.

As we have seen, Teixera was not just a banker, he also had an important role in the broader Jewish community. In 1670, Jacob Jehuda Leon (1603–1675) dedicated his translation and commentary on the songs of David to him, "the resident of Queen Christina". Jehuda Leon worked on the recreation of Solomon's temple and Moses's tabernacle, showing in detail their Holy vessels and instruments as a means to explain Judaism to both Jews and Christians. The project for his model wooden temple was first conceived in conversations with Adam Boreel in Middleburg in 1640–41. It was seen in 1642 in Amsterdam by Queen Henrietta Marie and the plans had been on display at Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg's library in Wolfenbüttel and in Denmark. In 1675, Jehuda Leon tried to rebuild it in London. (Leon's model has been taken to show the influence of Jews on the early practice of the Free Masons; it was, at least, a quite concrete outcome of the mid-century millenarian expectations.) Leon's dedication to Teixera was also perhaps an attempt to influence Christina. Her name and the titles of Leon's blueprint for the temple occur in the introductory letters from the Amsterdam rabbi, Isaac

²² Nuovo pronostico qual estato Communicato a SMta fallo l'anno 1665, Riksarkivet Stockholm: Excerpter Hamburg, Azzolino Collection 36 K 429, Astrologica. C. J. E. Hasselberg, "Anders Kempe och hans skrift *Israels Erfreuliche Botschaft*". *Jämten* 1926.

²³ Hans Joachim Schoeps (1952), p. 47.

Aboab, and the Jewish “philosopho Medico”, Spinoza’s critic Isaac Orobio de Castro.²⁴ Teixera also encouraged Christina’s occult practices, as in 1674, when he told her about “la liqueur ardent de St. Bonaventure du Bois”—a medical or alchemical elixir. Apparently they often discussed political events together. In one letter to Teixera, Christina demonstrates that her political judgment is so proficient that she had years in advance predicted the outcome of specific moves in European politics. Finally, in a letter from 1685, Christina recommends Manoel Teixera’s services by likening him to King Solomon in wisdom.²⁵

Another scholar, the poet and syncretist historian, Daniel Levi de Barrios, wrote the Poem “Espada Y silla” for Teixera, whom he called “Gentilhombre de la Reyna de Suecia.” In 1674, De Barrios lived through a creative crisis that made him an ecstatic expounder of a continued Sabbateanism. De Barrios relied on the Italian Jew, Abraham Michael Cardoso, who prophesied that since the surprising imprisonment of Sabbatai, the world is threatened by a great catastrophe in return for our sins. Yet, a truce between the Church and the English would set forces in motion that will end our bondage. On Rosh Hashana of 1674, the Messiah will be delivered and everybody will recognize him.²⁶ Some time later, De Barrios sent Teixera a panegyric on the invincible Polish King, John III (Sobieski). In 1673, on the same day that King Michael Wisniewieky died, Sobieski had won a battle over the Turks and the victory assured him the election to the throne in 1674. As Poland was thought to be the key to a triumph over the Sultan this sudden political change was considered as providential by many. For example, John Milton’s last written tract is on the election of

²⁴ Jacob Jehuda Leon, *Las Alabancas de Santidad traduction de los Psalmos de David*. Amsterdam 1670. Described in A. K. Offenberg, “Bibliography of the works of Jacob Jehuda Leon (Templo)” *Studia Rosenthaliana* 1976, pp. 111–132, esp. 131–132. See also A. K. Offenberg, “Jacob Jehuda Leon (1602–1675) and his model of the Temple” in Jan van den Berg & E. G. E. van der Wall, *Jewish-Christian Relations in the 17th Century* 1987. Yosef Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism* 1989, pp. 196n. 312.

²⁵ Teixera’s letter in the Azzolino collection 26/5 1677. On the elixir, Teixera to Christina, Hamburg 1674. Azzolino collection 36 K 429, Riksarkivet Stockholm. Hugo Valentin, (1923) p. 233.

²⁶ Wilhelmina Ch. Pieterse, *Daniel Levi de Barrios als Geschiedschrijver van de Portugees-Israelitische Gemeente te Amsterdam in zijn “Triumpho del governo popular”*. Scheltema & Holkema, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 41 and 80, also pp. 421–422. On de Barrios’ project for a poetic version of the Pentateuch called *Imperio di Dios en la Harmonia del Mundo* (1674), see the articles by H. Kayserling in *Revue des Etudes des Juives* XVIII 1889, XXXII 1896. Also, Yosef Kaplan (1989), pp. 157, 222–229, 373–375.

Sobieski.²⁷ If only after 1683, Christina also came to regard Sobieski as equal to her heroes Cromwell and Condé.

In Rome, she consulted the Jewish doctor Gabriel Felix, who was known for his insights into “the Tree of Porphyry” (an early classification system applied to Hebrew grammar) and in 1687, she recommended him to the Polish King. Christina continued her friendship with Manoel Teixera even through her Quietist period. Just some weeks before her death, Christina wrote a letter to him saying that she thought that if she died, he alone will be struck by grief as the whole of Rome.²⁸ Ironically, at least for the developments presented here, in her last known written note, Christina sighs that she expects her political messenger, Oliwekrantz, as intensely as the Messiah is awaited by the Jews.²⁹

Philo-Semitic Intervention

In 1686, Christina wrote a manifesto calling herself the “Protettoria delli miserabili, delli oppressi et attriti” of the Hebrew Ghetto in Rome.³⁰ The nearer circumstances that provoked her initiative are unknown, but other evidence suggest that she was influenced by Jewish-Christian arguments claiming that the future of the Church depended on the conversion and acceptance of the Jews. In the same year, Christina had read Richard Simon’s mocking forged letter purportedly written by the rabbis of Amsterdam. They congratulated the Calvinist millenarian Pierre Jurieu for having taken heed of the heretical Unitarianism of Faustus Socino and for being the prophet of Judaism in Christianity. Christina now wanted her bookseller in Amsterdam to send her Jurieu’s apocalyptic book *L’Accomplissement des prophéties ou la délivrance prochain de L’eglise* (1686) and others with the same argument. Drawing on Joseph Mede’s explication of the system of the Seven seals and the Seven trumpets in the revelation of St. John, Jurieu’s lengthy commentary interprets the Catholic persecution of the Huguenots as the wake of the 1260 days prophesied in Revelation, and that

²⁷ G. Masson, *Life of Milton* 1877–1881. Vol. 6, pp. 725–727.

²⁸ R. Briel, “Une lettre de Gabriel Felix Moschides of Francfort 1682–83” *REJ* XXXII 1896. pp. 134–137. G. Claretta, *Cristina di Svezia in Italia* 1892. Letter XLVII, Christina to Jan Sobieski 22 Feb. 1687.

²⁹ Christina to Olivekrantz, 2 April 1689. Arckenholtz (1751), Vol. II p. 307. Quoted by C. Bildt, “Drottning Kristinas sista dagar” *Ord och Bild* 5 1986. pp. 53–66, esp. p. 55.

³⁰ Hugo Valentin (1923), pp. 233–234.

therefore the reign of the Anti-Christ, the Papacy, will shortly come to an end. In the preface, Jurieu appealed to a recent trend in Rome—Molino's Quietism, a purist and monistic belief condemned by the inquisition—that Christina had also accepted:

Never was there so many in the *Church of Rome* as now, who acknowledge the vanity and impurity of their superstition. Since it is freely confessed that the *adoration* of one God is sufficient without that of the *Saints* and *Images*, they must shortly conclude, that for things unnecessary they ought not Scandalize one half of the *Christian World*; and shut the Gate against the Iewes and the Mahometans.

Christina's Quietist period, and her interest in arguments for concord and toleration of Jews, thus seems to have had millenarian overtones.

The political context of the tract touched on William III of Orange's conquest of the Netherlands, and on James II's acceptance of Catholicism, but the essential pro-Jewish argument was an apocalyptic vision of the future that, as I will develop in the next chapter, may have played a role in Christina's ghetto manifesto as well as in her comments on toleration. She had also earlier used her influence in attempts to stop the persecution of Jews. When Emperor Leopold I in 1670 wanted to drive the Jewish population out of Vienna, Teixera summoned help. In Rome, a friend of his, an unidentified rabbi by name Shelomo, rallied Christina to start with Cardinal Azzolino a campaign of letters to the papal nuncio of Vienna, and to the Empress and her mother in an attempt to hinder the eviction. This intervention did not succeed in preventing the decision and so around 4000 ghetto Jews had to flee north, often forced to continue their lives as "crypto-Jews". In 1678, Christina was also involved in supporting Clemens IX's initiative to abandon the Jewish Galoppo—a yearly Carnival race in Rome where animals and Jews were forced to run the streets.³¹

Christina's interest in Jews may have been part of a larger program, that of assigning a role to Jews beyond their mercantile significance. On one level it is possible to describe Christina's attitude as that of an early Enlightenment pursuer of principled tolerance. Her most significant public statements support such a

³¹ Christina to Bremont, Montpellier collection, XIV. f. 172. On Jurieu, see Hans Joachim Schoeps (1952). Hugo Valentin (1923), p. 234. G. Claretta (1892). Letter XXV Christina to Leopold 19 April 1670, p. 408. For a reproduction of such a "galoppo" see Per Bjurstrom, *Feast and Theatre in Queen Christina's Rome* 1966. On Christina's and Azzolino's intervention see Hermann Vogelstein and Paul Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*. Band II, 1420–1870. Berlin 1895. p. 270.

judgment. In 1686, she had intervened against the French persecution of Huguenots that had followed upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Her letter to her aid Terlon with her opinions on tolerance was published in Pierre Bayle's journal *Nouvelles de la Republiques des Lettres*. "Soldiers are bad apostles," she wrote. Bayle was quick to point out that her letters showed that the famous convert still had Protestant sympathies. Thus revealed, Christina admitted that she was the author of Terlon's text. She reaffirmed that to call dissenters to the Church by force is unacceptable and claimed that she in fact demanded nothing that would not be accepted by the apostle Paul and his followers in the early Church. In a curious exchange, that draws further attention to her letter, Christina points out that the final signature "I am" could never have been written by her since it implies a close relationship to the receiver, and she thus denies that she endorsed printing the letter.³²

One should remember that Christina's *Maxims* show an outspoken contempt for weakness and that she never had any qualms about executions and Macchiavellian deceit when such acts were in favour of her political plans. Her intervention thus seems hardly to have originated in a general pity for the miserable conditions Jews were living in. But I think that if Christina's philo-Semitism is assigned a place in her religious development, then her unusual attitude towards Jews can be understood as a continuation of her early peace initiatives. Given the context of her actions, her toleration can have been based in a form of Irenism based on Comenius' and Dury's millenarian view of Judaism as the stock from which the Christian stem had grown, and that at a crucial point would assume a messianic role.

³² Arckenholtz (1751), Vol. II pp. 230–235.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE MESSIANIC DRAMA: THE YEAR 1655

While historians of art and culture have made attempts to explore the Baroque image of Christina, the Queen as a “Pallas Nordica” or a “Semiramis of the North”, few have taken seriously her equally professed role as “an Agitatrix of Peace” and a female Alexander.¹ These themes of her image, of Peace and Universal Monarchy, are essential to Catholic mythology, but in her case they also fit a broader millenarian interpretation of events that in her time was held to shape the destiny of Europe. Christina’s attempt to be perceived publically as notoriously persistent for peace and toleration flowed from her early role at Westphalia in 1648. It also coheres with the expectations put forth by three messianists with whom Christina met: Isaac La Peyrère, Menasseh ben Israel and Antonio Vieira. Their ideas seem to have been part of the context in which political observers understood Christina’s role as abdicating prince, a context which facilitated her own view of the abdication: as not only a sacrifice, but as an elevation to achieve a divine example for crowning her successor. And, as such, an elevation that would have future political return.

That the standard assumptions about monarchical behaviour in Christina’s circle could see her abdication act in such a way emerges in 1654, in an address by the Spanish envoy to Copenhagen, Bernardino de Rebolledo. On the occasion of Christina’s arrival in the house of the Jewish banker Teixerá in Hamburg, Rebolledo, a friend of Pimentel and an Amaranthe knight, wrote a lyrical address to the resident Juan de Prado, a Marrano two years later famed for his Deist influence on Spinoza. Perhaps mockingly, Rebolledo expressed an attitude of his time by describing the abdicated Queen as an unexpected messiah of the female gender:

¹ The many panegyrical hymns depicting Christina as a learned and peace loving female Prince, were also followed by expectations in the intelligence community of John Thurloe that she would act on behalf of Spain for a peace settlement with France. John Thurloe, *State Papers 1648–1658*. A spy from Paris on 2 June 1655 relates: “Here is serious and fresh motion made of a general peace, in which the Queen of Sweden is very sollicitous and active; but what that shall produce, I yet know not.” Vol IV. p. 39. For her role as “An agitatrix of Peace Generall”, see 19 November 1656 Genoa. Vol. V, p. 580.

“De colera de pensar quan sin pensar a venido, el no esperado Mesias en genero feminino.”²

For general observers living in the spiritual climate of millenarianism, Christina's acts were not of the ordinary kind. A letter of intelligence from Dort on 13 June 1653 exclaimed: “The Swede is the only politik Prince, foreseeing and making herself ready against the day of change.”³ And then followed remarkable events: after Christina's abdication, “so much to despise the greatness of this world”, and her secret flight “in habitus virilis . . . looked upon as a fantastic trick”, came suspicion that she was secretly dealing with powerful pretenders such as the Prince of Condé, Cromwell or Charles II.⁴ Her acts and impious ways led observers to believe that she had “some great design in hand”, and that “a Generall Peace will suddenly be ushered in by the Queen of Swedeland.”⁵

The cycle of apocalyptic hope, climax, and disappointment that Norman Cohn describes in his study *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, had reoccurred with a particular brand of urgency towards the middle of the seventeenth century.⁶ Against a background of war, persecution, and injustice, apocalyptic speculation took new forms of matching the biblical text with those political events that had the potential for altering the collective future. The biblical story of the beginning and end of time included both an abstract interpretation of matter, life, and history, and a more populist image of the events leading up to the final state of the world. The apocalyptic form of providential history had given scriptural license to radical reformers such as the Munster Anabaptists, and it was revived in the English revolution as a means to usher in the Fifth Monarchy, the reign of the Godly in the end of time. All the forms of doctrine on the state of the world on the last day; Jewish messianism, Christian millenarianism, and the “Marrano” or mixed Jewish-Christian blend, worked in practise as a political action plan for preparing the earth for the coming of the awaited Messiah. At a definite time the age of reconstruction would begin; an age Christians believed would count to a thousand years before the final Judgment. The reign during the millennium was to be taken by those who could incorporate the virtues of the Old Testament Israelite kings, Joseph and David.

² I. S. Revah, *Spinoza et Juan de Prado* 1959. p. 157.

³ John Thurloe, *State Papers* vol. I, Dort 13 June 1653.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.* vol. IV, p. 27. Brussels, 26 December 1654.

⁶ Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* 1970.

Specific forms of millenial doctrines reached the Queen around the critical time for her abdication and conversion. Her role of coming in between two clear candidates for messianic projections, her role as daughter to one (Gustavus Adolphus) and as instaurator to the other (Charles Gustavus), made Christina's political acts interesting to the apocalyptically minded observers. In Stockholm, she was influenced by Johannes Bureus' Neo-Gothic attempts to translate the golden age of the Hyperboreans into a reinvigorated Swedish imperium. Her entourage of linguists was seriously involved in deciphering classical prophecy and she knew reform millenarians like Comenius and Dury. She also met with messianic theorists who did not stress the Protestant element in the reconstruction, at least one Jewish messianist, one Marrano millenialist, and one Jesuit millenialist: As we have seen, Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel in 1654 saw her protectorship as especially important to the persecuted Jews of northern Europe. Isaac La Peyrère, who from 1643 built on a millenarian scheme around his radical theory on men before Adam, met with the Queen several times and could impart to her his systematic vision of Marrano messianism. The Jesuit Antonio Vieira, who in 1667 was condemned for his Portuguese millenial scenario, was for two years beginning in 1674, Christina's personal confessor in Rome. The important relations between these three thinkers and their attempts to influence the Queen raise questions about how Christina perceived their ideas.

Antonio Vieira's early activity in Amsterdam causes speculation about how much he could have influenced other Portuguese Jesuits. In the fertile period while he was creating his millenial doctrine, Vieira acted as a diplomat to Belgium and France. For six months, in 1647, he was secretary to the Portuguese diplomat in the Spanish Netherlands, Fransisco de Sousa Couthino.⁷ In 1651, a Portuguese Jesuit, Antonio Macedo, was Christina's first direct contact with Catholicism. By answering her questions, Macedo started the secret discussions that would astonish the world by converting the Swedish Queen to the Catholic faith. The Jesuit College at Innsbruck published a statement for Christina's public conversion entitled *Mundus Novus Christinae S. Reginae, in sinum Ecclesiae Catholicae Romanae Omnipotenti recepta . . . Anno, quem ipsamet*

⁷ C. R. Boxer, "Antonio Vieira S. J. and the institution of the Brazil Company in 1649" *Hispanic American Historical Review* xxix (1949) pp. 474-497. Also C. R. Boxer, *A Great Luso-Brasilian Figure Padre Antonio Vieira, S. J. (1608-1697)*. 1957, repr. 1963. The Jesuit pamphlet, see C. G. Warmholtz, *Bibliotheca* 1801, p. 186. In March 1652, Heinsius reported to Christina of the imprisonment of the millenarian Portuguese diplomat Vincente Noghera, P. Burman, *Sylloge* V, p. 745 f.

exhibiret Christina a DMIrabILIs (1655). In this case, the Jesuit depiction of the abdication of 1654 made allusions to the formation of a new world of spiritual renewal. The rhetorical image has affinities to Vieria's Portuguese doctrine of restitution and perhaps some of the Jesuit argumentation Christina encountered was related to his ideas on the changing balance of powers in Europe. A doctrine of political redemption thought realizable within her lifetime may have prepared her for Isaac La Peyrière's more general ideas, both perhaps together forming the spring for Christina's step.

The most critical aspect of the Jewish and the Marrano interpretations of the divine drama is the emergence of a political messiah—an earthly ruler who will join the warring factions and set the major agenda for spiritual preparedness. Following an age-old tradition, extended through Joachim di Fiore's remarks on the Apocalypse and the Third Age of the Spirit, candidates for the political messiah were chartered through parallels of Scripture and political events. Indications were that someone through fate and grace was extraordinarily chosen to create major political changes. In Christina's era self-proclaimed prophets appeared in almost every Protestant country. Many individuals in religiously diverse regions such as England, the Netherlands, and Poland, proclaimed that they knew the events to come. The most well-known case may be the Jewish messiah Sabbatai Sevi of 1666, another is the Quaker James Naylor, who in the fateful year 1656 was hailed in Bristol as the Messiah by crowds shouting "Hosannah," in the hope that their Quaker beliefs at last would prevail. At his trial, just before his punishment, a woman named Dorcas Embry, who claimed that Naylor had raised her from the dead, placed a crown on his head reading "The King of the Jews". The emergence of commoners with claims to spiritual dominion was seen as a serious threat to order and faith; "the Jew and the Quack" were later portrayed together as impostors that had tried in an Anabaptist vein to create a "monarchia nova".⁸ Similarly, in Sweden in 1629, under a peculiar challenge to Gustavus Adolphus' authority, the commoner Matthias Pfennig had been imprisoned for proclaiming himself "Matthias Rex Judeorum, Israelitorum et Suecijorum" and for gathering rebellious followers in the name "Matthias Leo der Nordenkönig".

⁸ Illustrations in M. Corvinus, *Der alten und neuen Schwärmer wiedertäuferischen Geist*. Cothen 1701. Also as Zacharias Theobald et alia. *Historia von denen Wiedertäufern*. Cothen 1705.



Prince Louis II de Condé in Isaac La Peyrière's *La Bataille de Lens* (1648).



*On void dans le Nord deux Estoiles,
Dont nostre Horizon suit les loix.
Caliste est la guide des Voiles,
Et CHRISTINE celle des Roys.*

Queen Christina in Isaac La Peyrère's *La Bataille de Lens* (1648).

In 1653, a year of famine in Christina's Stockholm, a woman named Anna Martensdotter caused calamity by her claim to be Queen when the Kingdom of the peasants comes, and a peasant leader adorned by a crown of iron was marched with his spiked club carried before him to his execution, after having caused an uprising by insisting on the title "Chancellor of the Realm," and with his claim to be the legitimate King of the Spirit.⁹ To the faithful, such martyrdoms indicated the continual real presence of the redemptive hopes expressed in the Old Testament and were assimilated to Christ's sufferings. To the powerful, these eruptions indicated the fragility on which their own claims for spiritual leadership rested. Although we do not know much about the 1653 uprising in Stockholm—nine men were hanged on the gallows—it must have put a heavy strain on Christina's rule, accused as she was of letting foreign atheism flood her court.¹⁰

Isaac La Peyrère, Antonio Vierra, Menasseh ben Israel

The dominant view, set out in the sixteenth century in Guillaume Postel's writings and by the middle of the seventeenth century continued by Isaac La Peyrère in his *Du Rappel des Juifs* (1643), was that the political messiah would be the most Christian king, "anointed by heaven and worker of miracles", a bearer of the Lily, a descendant of Charles le Magne, the King of France. La Peyrère wrote: "Je demonstre qu ce rappel et ce restablissement temporel des Juifs se fera par la ministère d'un roy temporel qui provocera les Juifs à connaitre Jesus-Christ, et de le servir. Je fay voir que ce roy temporel sera le roy universel predict par les saincts prophete, à qui tous les autres roys de la terre feront hommage. Et je faire voir que ce roy sera un roy de France."¹¹ A tradition had evolved that, although "the King of France" seemingly indicated Louis XIV, one ought to consider that at the time expected, 1655, Louis would only be about eighteen years old, and one ought instead to turn to Louis's elder cousin who tried to seize France for himself, the military genius Le Grand Condé, Prince Louis II of Bourbon. It was especially telling that Condé's father, the late Prince Henri of

⁹ Gunter Barudio, *Gustav Adolf der Grösse* 1985. p. 281, 285. Nils Ahnlund, "Vem var Duken?" *Historisk Tidskrift* 1938 p. 400, C. Molbech, "Peder Juul's otryckte brev til Charisius 1651–1655", *Dansk Historisk Tidskrift* 1: 5 1844. March 1653, pp. 346–347n. Quotes Johan Ekeblad's letters in *De la Gardiska Arkivet* VII, p. 200. Also C. Molbech (1844), p. 349 top.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 346–347n. Quotes Johan Ekeblad's letters, *De la Gardiska Arkivet* VII, p. 203.

¹¹ Hans Joachim Schoeps, *Philosemitismus im Barock* 1952. pp. 53–81.

Condé, had been born in 1588—a year calculated to prestage the final dawn.¹² In a similar way sixteenth century Spanish writers, such as Luis de Leon and Egidio da Viterbo, had held that the conquests in the New World assured that the kings of the Iberian peninsula would provide the providential roleholder. In the cases of Gustavus Adolphus and Oliver Cromwell, not the depth of their tradition, but their unexpected success seemed to provide the basic argument.

A second aspect of the divine drama of the millenium is the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. Only when the Jews have been recalled from their dispersion can they come to see the necessity of converting to Christ. In Isaac La Peyrère's mixed Jewish-Christian version of the millenial action plan, traditional Jewish messianism thus merged with Christian millenarianism to form a Marrano eschatology where the scenario was in practice a defense of the Jews. Like Postel, La Peyrère argued along a medieval rabbinic idea that the prophecies speak of two messiah's or universal monarchs, one of the house of David (Jesus Christ) and one of the house of Joseph. The latter is going to be God's instrument in preparing for the advent of the real Messiah. La Peyrère argues that a political messiah with the right line of descent, the King of France, must gather the Jews in his land and treat them tolerantly so that they are likely to see the merits of converting. When the Jews convert to Christianity, they can be brought by the King of France to Jerusalem and there rebuild the Temple to signify the new age of the Spirit, the age of Christ.

La Peyrère, who with Bourdelot belonged to the libertine circle of Condé, uses the messianist image, but seems to have been more politically practical than theologically concerned. The political action plan works as much as a factual appeal for toleration of Jews and an ending of their persecution, as to the salvation of Christian believers. By arguing that Adam's sin pertains only to the Jewish people, and by drawing on Christian theology to argue that without the fall of Adam ultimate redemption would not have been promised, he shows that the Jews are indispensable for the salvation.¹³

¹² Richard H. Popkin (1987) Ch. V, p. 197 ff, On the background of Gallic Messianism, see Marion Leathers Kuntz, "Guillaume Postel and the World State: Restitution and the Universal Monarchy" *History of European Ideas* IV 1983 Part II pp. 445–465 esp. pp. 446–450. On Condé's role, see Richard H. Popkin, "Menasseh Ben Israel and Isaac La Peyrère II" *Studia Rosenthaliana* vol. XVIII. (1984). pp. 12–20. Richard H. Popkin, "Postel and La Peyrère" in Guy Tredaniel ed. *Guillaume Postel 1581–1681*. 1985. pp. 171–181.

¹³ Richard H. Popkin, "The Marrano Theology of Isaac la Peyrère" 1973. pp. 97–126. Richard H. Popkin, (1987).

Isaac La Peyrère and Christina met first in 1648 and then in 1654–55 in Antwerp where she lived with the Jewish banker Garcia D'Yllan. La Peyrère's *Du Rappel des Juifs* is on Isaac Vossius' bibliography for the Antwerp library.¹⁴ As secretary to Le Grand Condé (his French candidate for the role of political messiah), La Peyrère had approached the Queen by dedicating to her a copy of his description of Condé's victory in 1648 at *La Bataille de Lens*.¹⁵ In 1654, Montecuccoli describes how Christina discussed the plans of Condé with his secretaries Lenet and La Peyrère. La Peyrère was left nearby de Yllan's house in order to keep Christina informed of Condé's plans. Christina's interest in La Peyrère's infamous theory on men before Adam during this time, indicated to Philibert de la Mare that a spread of the manuscript could submit a sign to the Orthodox church, that not only the Reformed were capable of approving its doctrines. Notwithstanding these aspirations, the *Prae-Adamitae* could only appear anonymously with the subscript "Anno Salutis MDCLV".¹⁶

René Pintard has argued that Christina's support of La Peyrère's doctrine on the relativity of Adam's sin fitted with her libertine attitude. But as Richard Popkin recently has shown in great detail, a wider view of La Peyrère's concerns demonstrates that the theory of pre-Adamites was an integral part of La Peyrère's broader millenarian idea of a universal restitution. By marking Adam out by his sin, God had signified the election of the Jews; with the birth of Jesus, God assured the rejection of the Jews, and now at the fulness of time they were being recalled. Noah's covenant at the dispersion of Babel was to be achieved, La Peyrère could have told Christina, not by the restitution of Bureus' Scandinavian Hyperbooleans, nor with the victory of Cromwell's Puritan Godly, but by the gathering in of the Jews—the only ones to whom, according to La Peyrère, Adam's sin truly applies and the only ones who by converting to Christ can abrogate God's curse.

This perspective on the heretical book and its publication opens up an unexplored dimension to the public acts Christina performed on her unexpected journey from Stockholm, to Brussels, Innsbruck, and Rome. The symbolic power brought out by the abdication act

¹⁴ *Du Rappel des Juifs* is listed on Isaac Vossius' Antwerp catalogue of Christina's books, Richard H. Popkin, (1984). p. 13.

¹⁵ Hans Joachim Schoeps (1952), p. 17. La Peyrère's tract on the battle at Lens is reprinted in Victor Cousin, *La Société française* 1886. pp. 338–381. The front depicts Condé, like Hercules, wearing a lion's head on his shoulder.

¹⁶ Philibert dela Mare, "De Vita Salmasii" f. 129 margin. Ms. 1026, Dijon, René Pintard, *Le Libertinage Erudit* 1943, p. 399.

and her contradictory conversion seems to have been purposely channeled towards her role in the expected political change. As events evolved, millenarians settled on new candidates for their scenarios and Christina's public conversion added to the evidence that made the Church seem triumphant. After his political conversion to Catholicism, Isaac la Peyrère wrote the *Lettre à Philotine* (1658), where he had changed his views by projecting Pope Alexander VII to be the ultimate unifier of faiths. Using a prevalent image, La Peyrère wrote that the Pope would act as once Alexander the Great did in conquering foreign lands and creating a unified world.¹⁷

Before becoming pope, Cardinal Fabio Chigi had been part of the peace negotiations at Westphalia where his diplomacy stirred the rumour that he was a crypto-Protestant. In spite of the setback for the Church, he at his institution claimed that he, Alexander the VII, would be the last pope.¹⁸ After an eighty day conclave, his final election had been seen as providential. Orlando Cornero's manuscript *Alexander VII A Deo datus—in Montibus Aureum Seculum sperant Populi* (1655) speculates that the mountain on the Chigi engram is the place where Noah landed after the Flood and his star shall shine on Christina when: "Cymbals sound as you speed to Rome, and truly, so much Providence assist you." Under Alexander VII's auspices, Rome was rebuilt. He also formed a league against the Turks on Crete. In 1655, he hosted the first part of a Hebrew edition of St. Thomas Aquinas. The volume in print, the *Summa contra Gentiles*, uses St. Thomas' arguments on infinity to show the incoherence of the Kabbalist notion of En-Soph, "the limitless without ending". The polemic against mystical Judaism was a prelude to the conversion of the Jews. Isaac La Peyrère thus could use Alexander's image to play on the millenarian hopes perpetrated by Spanish mystics since the Marrano linguo-theologian Luis de Leon's prediction that the new age would begin in 1656.¹⁹ Christina may have taken part of this as a related fantasy of restitution.

Watched over by her Spanish aids, Christina secretly converted

¹⁷ Richard H. Popkin, (1973). Esp. p. 123 note 74 and 75. Also, Räss, *Die Konvertiten* Vol. V, p. 112–136.

¹⁸ Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*. Rotterdam 1697. Article "Chigi".

¹⁹ Chigi ms. lat. C III: 69. Bibl. Apost. Vaticana. Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes* Vol. xxxi, Alexander VII (1655–1667), Ch. i. Iosephus Ciantes Episcopus, ed. *Summa Divi Thomae Aquinatis ordinis praedictorem contra Gentiles, quam Hebraice eloquuntur*. Rome 1655. (copy at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio). Karl Kottman, *Law and Apocalypse: The Moral Thought of Luis de Leon (1527–1591)* 1972. p. 113.

to Catholicism in Brussels on Christmas Eve, 1654. In this town a century earlier, in 1555, the aging Charles V, king of the Habsburgs, emperor of the Realm, had abdicated (unprecedented in modern times) for a solitary, spiritual retreat in a monastery. The rumour was that Charles V believed that he had achieved the universal monarchy and that his retreat was to secure the succession within his lifetime.²⁰ Obsessed with the Alexander image and styling herself as the spiritual daughter of the pope, the Swedish Queen took the name "Christina Alexandra" at her confirmation in Rome 1655, after having proceeded through the triumphal gate on Piazza del Popolo. Its entrance had been sealed since the passage of Charles V after his sack of Rome, but was now opened for Christina by Pope Alexander VII. The gate, redesigned by Bernini, is topped by the star and mountains of the Chigi engram and celebrates the Queen's arrival into the eternal city with the inscription: "Felici. Fausto Q. Ingressui. Anno. Dom. MDCLV." Some time later, in June 1656, a Spanish report lamented the plague and poverty in Rome and added that there now was a pessimistic popular saying on the gate of the Swedish Queen: *Die ut lapides isti panes fiant—if only the day would turn those marbles into bread.*²¹

It has been noted several times that the young Christina eagerly read Curtius' biography of Alexander and that she also wrote her own version of his biography appended to her *Maxims*.²² But no scholar has connected her Alexander image to the ecumenical plans of a universal monarchy so prevalent in her time. Because of its political involvement, the millenarian trend in Catholic thinking has been under heavy ecclesiastical attack. But the Jesuit order, especially its Portuguese wing, was deeply influenced by ideas of

²⁰ The familiar hopes for a restitution of past unity played a significant role in Spanish millenarian imagery of Charles V as the Emperor to rule with the Angelic Pope at the end of time. The event of his abdication was therefore seen as a mystery. Christina's aid, Schlippenbach, in his *Ethliche Politische Discours* . . . 1649 (in *Strödda politiska handlingar*, *Riksarkivet*, Stockholm) argues that Charles V did not abdicate for pious reasons, but only in order to make his brother emperor and secure the Spanish throne for his son. Noticed by Nils Ahnlund, *Personhistorisk Tidskrift* 1943 p. 214 n. 1.

²¹ For the triumphal gate, see Cesare D'Onofrio, *Rom Val Bene un'Abiura—Storia Romane tra Cristina di Svezia, Piazza del Popolo e l'Accademia D'Arcadia* 1976 p. 52 ff. The gate and Christina's entrance are also reprinted on a commemorative coin. Sforza Pallavacino, *Descrizione del primo vaggio* . . . (1655), reprinted Rome 1839, also in *Della vita de Alessandro VII* 1839. Jeronimo de Barrionuevo, *Avisos de Don Jeronimo de Barrionuevo (1654–1658)* 1969. Vol. I. p. 293.

²² Arckenholtz (1751) vol. II. Introduction to "Reflexions de la Reine Christine sur Alexandre le Grand" p. 55–56.

how the missions in the new world indicated the fulfilment of biblical prophecy.²³ The neglect of this aspect in the history of seventeenth century Catholic thought, and its eventual successful suppression, have obscured the fact that not only Protestant radicals expected fundamental change in the material domain. The evidence that Christina's conversion was seen to confirm expectations of radical alterations in the European balance of powers ought to be taken very seriously.

Christina's encounter with La Peyrère was prepared for, not only by his libertine friends Saumaise and Bourdelot, but also by Menasseh ben Israel's plight in the previous year. Marrano messianism in the Low Countries had gained momentum in 1644 when the Marrano Antonio Montesinos returned from America. Montesinos reported how the Indians in the Amazon practised Jewish rites and how their language was strangely similar to Hebrew.²⁴ Not only Jews and Marranos found this interesting, but also Christian millenarians could fit this new evidence to their beliefs. Thus, Vieira and Menasseh ben Israel met in Amsterdam in 1646 and discussed the larger importance of the report by Montesinos.²⁵ If Indians really were Jews and thus a part of the lost Ten Tribes, the implication must be drawn that the end of days was imminent. The Ten Tribes, Genesis said, were to reappear shortly before the final return of the Messiah.²⁶ It is interesting that, in the address referred to above, Rebolledo (before introducing the idea of the advent of a female messiah) mocks Juan de Prado by saying that only a delicious manna, a rosy dew, could convert him, provided that it be portioned out in equal abundance to the Hebrew tribes: *Ni qu'en sabroso Mana se te convierta el rocio, de que puedes hazer plato a todos los doze tribus*".²⁷

Antonio Vieira's millenarian attitude was shaped by the songs of Bandarra, the poetry of the Sebastian tradition in Portugal: In 1578 at the battle of Alcazar (where the Portuguese lost their independence to the Habsburgs), King Sebastian disappeared, generating the legend that one day he would return and restore the glory of the

²³ Compare I. S. Revah, "Les Jesuites Portugais contre l'Inquisition: La Campagne pour la Foundation de la Compagnie du Bresil", *Revista do Livro* I, 1956 pp. 29-53. Raymond Cantel, *Prophetisme et Messianism dans l'oeuvre d'Antonio Vieira*. Paris 1960. See further note 24 below.

²⁴ A. J. Saraiva, "Antonio Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel, et le cinquième empire" *Studia Rosenthaliana* VI (1972), pp. 24-56. See references in note 30 below.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 36.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 37-39.

²⁷ I. S. Revah (1959). p. 157.

Portuguese people. Portugal's vast seaborn empire showed that it was chosen to make the endeavour encompass the entire world. The comets, storms, and floods recently recorded were all millenial signs that the fifth monarchy would break in. The King of Portugal would return and with an Angelic Pope fight the Turks and convert the Jews.²⁸

An example of these ideas can be found in Lorenzo di Banco's ironic statement *Bizzarie Politiche ouer raccolta delle pinndabili Pratiche di Stato, nella Christianita*, (1658). Inserted between a list of secret instructions directed to Christian Jesuits "per arrivar alla Monarchia Brumata" and a description of the basic liberties of Venice, is a "Manifesto della Regina di Suezia" reporting Christina's statement of conversion. It also tells of how she had beaten up a Spanish servant and how she became dissatisfied with the intrigues of her Spanish advisors, Pimentel, Terra Nova, and Antonio Della Cueva. Then follows a chapter on the popular revolt in Portugal against the Spanish monarch and Don Joao IV of Braganza's election as "Vox Populi, Vox Dei". The book ends with a chapter called "Avertimento sopra il questo Pronostico Porthogese". Here the total millenarian scenario is presented from the Portuguese viewpoint and among other judgments on European politics the author remarks: "Il Re di Suezia, benche tra tutti i Settentrionali sia un Re potentissimo, e quasi nato alla guerra." As "Capo d'Heresia" he would be "una Peste enemico capitale, della santissima Chiesa".²⁹ Banco's examples of Jesuit millenarian views come close to Antonio Vieira's position on the subject.

Vieira was convinced that the Portuguese revolution of 1640 where Joao IV, duke of Braganza, proclaimed himself king, had transformed Portugal to be the ultimate bearer of historical change. Montesinos' report from the new world worked as a catalyst to Vieira's interpretation of the future. The preconditions for the millenium in Vieira's work include economic, legal, and theological problems to be solved by a national monarch. Vieira's national messianism took form in his *Historia do Futuro, Esperancas de Portugal, Quinto Imperio do Mundo* (1649). The timing for the new dawn was progressively set first at the conventional points 1656 and 1666, later Vieira argued for 1670, then for 1679, finally for the year 1700.

After his discussions with Menasseh in Amsterdam, Vieira went to Pernambuco where he lived for ten years, setting up relations for

²⁸ A. J. Saraiva (1972). p. 26 ff. Also Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim di Fiore and the Prophetic Future* 1976. pp. 132–135, 166–167.

²⁹ Lorenzo di Banco, *Bizzarie Politiche ouer Raccolta delle pinndabili Pratiche di Stato, nella Christianita*. Franchera 1658.

the Brazil company and working with other Jesuits among the Indians. In 1667, he returned to Portugal, but was then imprisoned and put before the Inquisition. In his sermons, as a way of preparation for the millenium, he had argued the need for the abolishing the term "New Christians," used for separating out the Marranos.³⁰ He was accused of "Judaizing" views, but, tacitly defended by his fellow Jesuits, he could move to Rome. As a perfect stylist and abstract reasoner his sermons were sought out by Roman celebrities. In 1674, Christina employed him as her penitentiary for two years. She had recently broken with the Franciscan Swede Lars Skytte, a Catholic apologetic who in an answer to Johannes Matthiae's Protestant Irenism uncompromisingly claimed that the universal Church of Peter and Paul is the only credible pacificatory alternative.³¹

One of Vieira's sermons bears a dedication to Christina and is a millenarian exegesis on the title image *Cinco Pedras da Funda de David* (1676) describing how David employed five elements in defeating his enemy: self-knowledge, the overcoming of sorrow, the repentance from sin, fearlessness, and hope for the future. Vieira also adopted Menasseh's vision in the *Piedra Gloriosa*, of seeing the stone to crush the iron statue of clay, not as usually a sign of Anti-Christ, but of the Messiah bringing in the fifth monarchy.³² In 1675, during his time in Christina's circle, Vieira was again condemned for defending Jews, yet his criticism of the Inquisition prevented any Auto-de Fé-burnings to take place between 1674–1681 while the issue was being reviewed.³³ Vieira at this time also began a series of spiritual exercises that he called *Maria Rosa Mystica*.³⁴

In 1679, Christina again wanted to hire him, and the Jesuit General Oliwa called upon Vieira to fulfil the request, but Vieira now stated that he had to go to Brazil to complete the preparations for the coming dawn by missionary works with the Indians.³⁵ His

³⁰ C. R. Boxer (1949, 1957), K. A. Kottman, "16th and 17th century Iberian controversy over St. Thomas' theory of *Jus Gentium* and Natural law: the interpretation of Antonio Vieira, S. J." in *L'UOMO. Atti . . . Internazionale*, n. 8 II Tomo, pp. 285–305.

³¹ Magnus Nyman, "Lars Skytte, diplomat, franciskan, humanist." *Kyrkohistorisk Arsskrift* 1982 pp. 117–131. esp. 126–127.

³² E. Carel, *Vieira—sa vie et ses œuvres*. 1879. pp. 342–362. esp. p. 347 ff. A. J. Saraiva (1972).

³³ C. R. Boxer (1957), p. 17.

³⁴ E. Carel (1879), p. 345 ff.

³⁵ Arckenholtz (1751) vol. II p. 141, The Jesuit General Oliwa's letter reprinted in Lucio d'Azevedo ed. *Cartas do Padre Antonio de Vieira* 1971. For Vieira's publications, see Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* 1890–1930. Article "Vieira."

Clavis Prophetarum, De Regno Christo Consummatio (1697) sums up his lifelong conviction that the end of the world is near. The earthly Messiah will unify the nations under a positive international law that will finally make room for the age of the Spirit.

Christina's direct acquaintance with Vieira's millenarian doctrines was a continuation of her interest in the divine aspects of the historical unfolding, as first displayed in the acts of Gustavus Adolphus. In time this preoccupation had become a personal and psychological drama of trying to recapture the power that had once been an integral part of her world. Vieira's visit to Amsterdam, and his meeting with Menasseh ben Israel, also influenced Menasseh's millenarian tract *Esperanza de Israel* (1649) that showed another version of the scenario. Menasseh argued that the future expectations for Jews and Christians were the same, and that Christians also would have a critical role in the total scenario.³⁶ In 1654, when he went to see Christina in Antwerp to claim payment for his Judaica project, he read La Peyrère's *Du Rappel des Juifs* (1643) and perhaps met the author himself. Menasseh apparently now gained new confidence. The circumstances suggest that first hand information that a general peace was negotiated between France, England, and Spain had been the decisive information. Full of enthusiasm Menasseh returned to Amsterdam, where he spoke at a meeting of Christian millenarians. One of these, Paul Felgenhauer, published his *Bonum Nuncium Israeli* (1655) explaining the Marrano doctrine that everybody would be saved, Christian or Jew, provided that the latter only converted—a step they easily might take as Jewish mysticism, according to his view, shows them the way to imitate Christ.³⁷

Given the difficulty of her step, Christina is likely to have decided very firmly on her future plans even before her abdication. In fact, the Kingdom of Naples figures in the debates before Christina had left Stockholm. In November 1654, Jean Chapelain reported to Nicholas Heinsius that the Queen had taken to *philosophia curante*

³⁶ A. J. Saraiva (1972), p. 40 ff. Richard Popkin (1984), pp. 18–20. Menasseh Ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel* in English translation by Moses Wall, 1652. Eds. Henry Mechoulan and Gerhard Nahon. 1987. Introduction, p. 66. On p. 125 of this edition, Menasseh remarks that "Montesinos learned a prophecy from the Mohanes [an Indian tribe?] answerable to that which Jacobus Verus, an astrologer of Prague, wrote after the apparition of the Comet in the year 1618 and dedicated to the Princess Palatine . . ." The Prague prophecy, Menasseh adds, speaks of how the comet moves towards the south, indicating that God threatens the Western Indies and that Indians in this part will, stirred up by others, revolt from the King of Spain.

³⁷ Richard H. Popkin (1984), pp. 12–14.

Bourdelotio and that people observing her believed that "Naples or Capri is the final destination of this peregrination." This was of interest since Heinsius had been an eyewitness to Masaniello's popular revolt in Naples 1648 where his servant had almost been killed as a spy. Also, in 1651, Ambassador Juel mentions that there were "Italian rebels" at Christina's court in 1651.³⁸ Better evidence for an early conception of the Naples plan, however, was noticed by Olofsson in 1953. In May 1654, the French Ambassador Picques reported that Christina wanted to trade her expected domains in Swedish Pommerania for domains in Naples. According to Picques, her support of the Swede's aggressive attack on Bremen was a sinister plan to give the Habsburgs (led by her friend Montecucoli) an excuse to strike back and seize Bremen-Verden and the rest of Pommerania from Sweden. With her post-abdication travel (purportedly to drink waters at Spaa) Christina would divert twelve ships from the Swedish fleet and then sell them to Spain and thus be independent from her financing from Pommerania. Olofsson adds that the states general Per Brahe later recalled the near fatal turns of the Bremen war as the bad business of "Hispania Practica".³⁹

Then there is the English diary-keeper John Evelyn's story from Rome in 1680, of how he had met Pietro Reggio, an Italian court musician formerly at work in Christina's Stockholm court. Reggio had said that the reason for the Queen's abdication was her intent to set herself up as ruler of Naples—the plan thus would have been conceived before leaving Sweden. Evelyn's remark was an ex-post-facto construction, but raises a point that has not been exhaustively answered by Curt Weibull's study of Christina's Naples plan, viz. when and why she conceived this very surprising project. Weibull has consistently argued that France used Christina as an instrument to further its aims. Yet, the letters of Mazarin in 1656 show that the plan is first initiated by Christina herself. It seems to have been taken over from a Spanish plan. On 11 December 1653, Mazarin was informed by Chanut, now at the Hague, that Antonio Pimentel was progressing in his diplomatic mission: "Il luy promet que la Roy d'Espagne luy donner quelques seigneuries d'un revenue considerables dans la Royaume de Naples . . ."⁴⁰ The same opinion

³⁸ F. F. Blok. *Nicholas Heinsius in Naples (april–juli 1647)* 1984. esp. p. 32–33. A report on Naples, Nordin coll. 185, 1652. Uppsala UB. Sven Ingmar Olofsson, *Drottning Kristinas tronausagelse och troförförändring* 1953. p. 329, note 82, 80.

³⁹ Chapter I, note 17. Sven Ingmar Olofsson, (1953). p. 329 n. 80.

⁴⁰ E. S. de Beer ed. *The Diary of John Evelyn* 1955. Vol. IV, 23 September 1680. pp. 220–221. Curt Weibull, *Christina och Monaldescho* 1936. Chanut to Mazarin, 11 Dec 1653, in *Revue de Bibliothèque* 11 (1901) s. 21 ff.

is reported in the little known *Lettre d'un Gentilhomme Anglois . . . de Upsal le 8 May 1654* (see no. 9, App. II). It asserts that Pimentel's romance with Christina depended on his promise that the King of Spain would confer on her the principality of Naples.

That there may have been an advanced ideological intention behind the Naples plan can be gleaned from the Bourdelot library, which Christina incorporated in her Roman collection. It not only contained the controversial philosophy of Pomponazzi and Campanella, but also Campanella's political plan for a temporal universal kingdom presented first to Spain and then to the French Dauphin, his *Monarchia Messiah* (1634). The Bourdelot collection in Rome also contained a treatise on Portuguese Sebastianism and two dispatches on the politics of Naples, one on the conditions in 1578 and one, particularly relevant here, the manuscript *Facilita con la quale il regno Napoli puo liberarsi e darsegli un re del sangue reale di Francia*.⁴¹ The document shows that ideas similar to La Peyrère's had been applied to the case of Naples in the circle of Condé very early on and through Bourdelot also in Christina's court. At the time of the abdication, Queen Christina thus was well informed about the tenuous situation in southern Italy and the attempts to separate it from Spanish Orthodox dominion. A new throne—where she again could be a maker of providential kings—was the hidden reason behind Christina's secret contract with Mazarin. In the contract she proclaimed that as she would never have any descendants, she would at her death hand over the throne of Naples to a French dauphin.

Christina's nightly meetings with Pimentel in 1653–54 can be understood by anticipating her role and political intention as an unbound Monarch. The context of the political messiah can also illuminate one of Christina's most conspicuous acts before leaving Sweden in 1654: her denunciation of the Duke of Braganza and her symbolic gesture of having the servants of the Portuguese resident beaten up on the streets. Her move was not endorsed by any political advice and it was seen both as completely mad and as a danger to the Swedish salt import. The council agreed that the Queen's move was a covert way of stating a pro-Spanish intention and perhaps a design for some more ulterior end. The ageing Axel Oxenstiern voiced the opinion that Christina's politics were the most grave assault on Sweden in forty years.⁴²

⁴¹ Elisabeth Pellegrin, "Catalogues de Manuscrits de Jean et Pierre Bourdelot. Concordance" *Scriptorium* 1986, 40. pp. 202–232. Items 322, 363, 358 1/2. Also relevant is 365.

⁴² Sven-Ingmar Olofsson, (1953) p. 326 n. 58.

In any case, one can identify the destination of the twelve ships previously mentioned. Christina was to let Raphael Trichet du Fresne offer their magnificent cargo of books and rarities from Prague for sale in France, or as rumours say, as a political gift to the Austrian Emperor. We know that the plan had a specific aim, since the Prince of Condé himself writes that the Queen had committed herself to support his claims to the French throne by providing for his attack on Bordeaux with burning ships.

In 1653, as a part of the Fronde, a tax revolt had broken out in Ormée, following the century old Croquants peasant revolts in Guyenne-et-Gascogne. Calvinist Preachers, like the brother of the mystic Jean de Labadie at Montauban, as well as La Peyrière, were active. In February 1653, the English Leveller Edward Sexby and his aid Arundel had been sent by Cromwell to the Calvinists in Bordeaux (a decision taken on advice of the departing Ambassador to Sweden, Whitelocke). They were to spread two revolutionary pamphlets. These contained material for a "projet d'un République"—with a translation of W. Lilburn's Levellist tract *The Agreement of the People* (1647–49). On 24 March 1653, Pierre Lenet described them in a letter to Condé and added that he thought Cromwell would assist in sustaining the revolt.⁴³ Information on the developments in Bordeaux was also run by Louis de Labadie and Cromwell's secret agent, the Calvinist preacher and colonel, J. B. Stouppé. A study of the map of the rivers Garonne and Dordogne, and the historical spread of these revolts, show that a control of Bordeaux was a strategic step towards cutting France in two halves, by following the streams towards Condé's homeground, Toulouse. Meanwhile, Christina had set her eyes on the Spanish Netherlands. In 1652, she wrote a secret letter to the council of Antwerp promising to start trade with the city in order to reset its harbour in former glory. One of the Belgian Jesuits who completed the conversion talks, Philippe Nutius, delivered her letter. At the time, Christina was trying to get England join against Holland's ally—the Danes. The Danish traitor, Hannibal Sehested, who had fled to Christina's court through the help of Pimentel and Rebolledo, were to become one of her primal advisors. Hence, on 16 December 1654. Sehested writes from London of troupes in Flanders procured

⁴³ D'Aumale, (1892), Vol. VI. appendix. pp. 698–708. Condé writes that Christina "manda Mons. Chanut . . . et lui proposa de s'entremettre pour la paix entre les deux couronnes et pour la mienne particulière . . ." Helmut Kötting, *Die Ormée (1651–1653)—Gestaltende Kräfte und Personenverbindungen der Bordelaiser Fronde.* Münster 1983. 159, 197 ff.

by Queen Christina for the Spanish King.⁴⁴

In Antwerp in the fall of 1654, Christina was prepared to mediate between Condé and Don Juan José of Austria, the illegitimate son of Philip IV, who had been involved in a French takeover plan at Sicily after the Massaniello revolt. He was imprisoned in Flanders until Condé saw to his release. The turns of diplomacy between the ex-Queen and Le Grand Condé in Brussels in the winter of 1655 have been obscured by Christina's symbolic alienation of him in a public ceremony. In a remarkable scene, she insisted that she must have the higher seat to indicate her superior status. Condé became furious over what he called her respectless "royauté imaginaire". Some believed that she had denied to marry him as he was said to have abandoned her with the words *Tous ou Rien*. In John Thurloe's spy ring it was suspected that these events concealed a larger political plot. Condé's sister, Madame de Longueville, in her memoirs claims that Condé visited Christina's quarters in private.⁴⁵ By paying closer attention to Christina's relation to the Prince of Condé during her year in the Spanish Netherlands one can piece together more details on her work towards a general peace.

Christina's Grand Plan in Flanders, 1655

Christina's peace negotiations and her relation to the Prince of Condé were only some of the steps in a much grander plan that she had drawn up behind the scenes. In March 1655, the Swedish diplomat Peter Coyet stayed in her house for ten days on his way to England. In May, the Venetian ambassador in London reported that Christina's emissary to London, Klas Tott, left Brussels for England on the same day as the secretaries of the Archduke and the Prince of Condé, whose mission it was "to represent to Cromwell how favourable the present moment would be for him to invade France, now that hostilities with Spain compel her to leave several ports at the mercy of England . . . The simultaneous departure of these three induces a belief that they have the same object in view

⁴⁴ Christina to the city of Antwerp 27 May 1652 in C. Burenstam, *Handskrifter i nederlandska och belgiska med flera archiver*, Stockholm 1895. p. 34. Hanibal Sehested to Whitelocke, London 16 December 1654, Ms. Rawlinson 21, Bodlian Library, Oxford. No pagination, not printed in Thurloe, *State Papers*.

⁴⁵ René Pintard (1943), pp. 399, 420. John Thurloe, *State Papers* passim. For Christina's relation to the Duke of Condé and Isaac La Peyrière's diplomatic role see Duc D' Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé* 1892. Vol. VI. pp. 698–708. see esp. p. 371. Madame de Longueville's judgement in her memoirs.

and that they will work against France." The Venetian resident thought that in return for Cromwell's support they were inviting him to seize the West Indies.⁴⁶ The idea must have been that if England could neutralize France, then the Condé-group could more easily gain influence in Flanders. Cromwell's view of the project was apparently more thought out. The notorious Calvinist spy, Colonel Stouppé, some years later reported to Gilbert Burnet that he had seen Cromwell studying maps for his attack on the West Indies. Cromwell had said that his aim was a fourfold division of Protestant Europe: 1) England's domain, including the West Indies; 2) The Dutch and Danish domain; 3) The Swedish-Polish eastern domain, reaching towards Transylvania and the Turkish lands; 4) The Swiss Central domain, including France. To bolster this union, Cromwell planned a college for evangelical propaganda. In 1653, he had even offered the Prince of Tarente to be the new governor of a Protestant France. That year, the Lord Protector's secretary, Andrew Marvell, mildly disguising his providential hopes for a northern alliance, wrote of the Swedish Queen: "Christ is believed to have signed for none of his chosen the secret mark with a better seal. And he whom she holds always described in her dear name, not less faithful, she bears carved in her heart. This flame alone consumes her virginal marrow."⁴⁷ The hopes among exiled Calvinists in London for an evangelical union were again increased in 1655 with the slaughter of Protestants in Piedmont. Cromwell's northern defence against Catholic brutality was called for.

In John Thurloe's spy ring it was reported that the Swedish Queen had been offered the opportunity by Mazarin to enter negotiations for a general peace in Paris on condition that the Condé was left out. In the late spring of 1655, the relations between the Queen and Condé came to a sudden end. Christina told Montecuccoli that Condé's moves at the Battle of Arras showed him too weak to sustain her pro-Habsburg plans. Perhaps convinced of the immoral character of Spanish Orthodoxy, she then secretly gave up her public cooperation with Philip IV of Spain and in September instead accepted Pope Alexander VII's invitation

⁴⁶ Allen B. Hinds ed. *Calendar of State Papers . . . Venice*. 1930. Giovanni Sagredo to the Doge and Senate 18 May 1655. p. 56. An English pamphlet, *Letter to the King of France from the Queen of Sweden on a Treaty for a Generall Peace*, says that she offers her mediation for a more perfect union also to the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Orleans, but that she desires a continuance of the pension to the Scotch King (Charles Stuart). Microfilm in the British Library, London.

⁴⁷ Gilbert Burnet, *A History of My Own Time*. London 1724. p. 78.

to settle in Rome.⁴⁸ Some decisive changes had occurred. Spanish diplomats, reporting from Rome in 1658, seem to have known: Christina's alienation of Spain was caused by Pimentel's failure to make her a viceroy in Belgium. Also, the Chief of Arms in the Spanish Netherlands, Count de Fuensaldaña, had tried to vouch for Christina as regent in order to prevent Don Juan José of Austria (the natural son of Philip IV) to be placed in Brussels after Leopold Wilhelm, who for some time had announced that he wanted to step down.⁴⁹

It is thus natural to ask a question unsuspected by previous researchers: Was Christina's stay in Antwerp a crucial preparatory step for candidacy to the vice-regentship in the Spanish Netherlands? At the time, Pimentel's influence over the Queen was clear to everyone. Many rumours were current; Chapelain in a letter to Heinsius in Stockholm, claimed that if anyone was the wandering Jew (Ahasverus, who was present on the day of Christ's crucifixion and who would wander erratically about Europe until the return of the Messiah) it must be Pimentel.⁵⁰ Chanut, who on Mazarin's orders was sent to Antwerp to influence the Queen, was quite bothered by the public behaviour of Pimentel and the Queen; what they actually did to cause this hostility is unclear. Rumours were that they wanted to rule together in Brussels as vice-regents. The Habsburg diplomat Montecuccoli, added suspicion by claiming that the Spanish commanders in Belgium: Fuensaldaña, Pimentel, Luis de Haro, and Castel Rodrigo were "half or fully Portuguese", i.e., in some way or another they favoured the Portuguese republic against Philip IV.⁵¹ It was now that copies of the anonymous letter *de Bruxelles à La Haye* was spread to report on how the diplomats Pimentel, d'Aleaqueste, and della Cueva were instruments of

⁴⁸ Christina to Ebba Sparre, Brussels 1655, reprinted in Sven Stolpe (1959), p. 289. On Christina's choice of Rome instead of Spain, see Nils Berencreutz ed. *Antonio Pimentels Depescher* 1961, p. 99, 101, 105. *Thurloe State Papers* Paris, 2 January 1655 and 6 February 1655. vol IV, p. 393. *Nunciatura di Fiandra* 1654–55, Biblioteca Vaticana. Copied in 1898 by Hampus R. Huldt, MSS. E 159 u, Uppsala UB. 39 f. 8, 9, 15.

⁴⁹ Jeronimo de Barrionuevo (1969). Vol. II, p. 186. C. Burenstam, "Hertigen af Aumale om den store Condé, Drottning Kristina, Sobiesky mfl." *Till Var Hembygd* 1897, p. 54–56.

⁵⁰ Jean Chapelain, *Soixante-dix-sept lettres* 1965. Letter LI, p. 310: "Si l'Ulysse Juif n'est Pimentel je ne scay qui c'est." Intelligence from the Hague July 1654: "The embassador of France here is very ill satisfied, that she would not be pleased to speak to him, and doth hold her altogether Hispaniolized . . ." in John Thurloe, vol. III, p. 520. Also p. 484 where an offended Chanut calls Christina's letter to him "very high and sharp".

⁵¹ R. Montecuccoli, *I Viaggi* . . . January 1655, p. 102.

Count Fuensaldaña in turning Philip IV in favour of Christina (Appendix II, no. 5). Fuensaldaña urged that she should be given the same entitlements as the Spanish Infanta.

Can these rumours shed light on Christina's intention at the abdication? Could the expected throne in the Spanish Netherlands have been the reason for her politically "mad" suggestion to Whitelocke that England, Spain, and Sweden must join causes against the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the French? In these times of political turmoil, the unusual acts of an unusual female monarch were easily taken to mean something out of the ordinary. Bernardino de Rebolledo's homily mentioning "an unexpected messiah, of the feminine sex", shows that in Christina's inner circle such perceptions were anticipated. Political expectations easily transformed into providential hope, as in a report of the 8 of August 1657, when Christina clearly had aligned herself with the Catholic cause: on rumours spreading that it was held by the "the Irish banished bishops beyond the Seas . . . that by the means of the queen of Swede, and her chancellor, a Jesuit, a dicscoverie should be made of some plot his Royal highness the King of Swede and others had for to destroy the catholic religion in all Europe; and to prevent the same, the studdie of the pope, of the house of Austria, and their allies, and of the Church of France, and their faction, to procure a peace between France and Spain, as being the cheefest places to maintain the Protestant religion. It is not in favour of Charles Steward, but for their own interest this is spread amongst the people."⁵²

The rumours had a very real basis. The King of the Romans Ferdinand IV died in 1654 and, because of Christina's reluctance, the Habsburgs have failed in their attempts to gain the Swedish Queen as consort for Prince Leopold. There now was a German prince as Swedish King in Stockholm and it had become increasingly unclear who supported whom among the German princes. It was thought that Charles Gustavus with his providential influence was seeking to become Emperor through the Polish war. In 1654, the Habsburg fieldmarshall Montecuccoli wanted Christina to influence the votes for Emperor among the German princes. During her stay in Antwerp, she made a series of journeys to Cologne for negotiations with the Bishops of Trier and Mainz who held an important vote. As a result, in August 1655, Christina through Montecuccoli sent a long instruction to Leopold, the new King of

⁵² John Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. VI, pp. 454–455. Thomas Doddson, 8 Aug 1657.

the Romans in Vienna. This document has largely been ignored by students of Christina's political outlook, but it may well be the best evidence there is of her decisive role after the abdication. In the letter, Christina warns the Habsburgs that Charles Gustavus' recent attack on Poland is going to follow the old projects found in Swedish archives. The Swedes are going to take Brandenburg and the Moscovites as allies, strike on to Vienna, seize the Crown and then enter Rome in glory. This is particularly likely since the Swedes can make use of the Turkish incursion and join with many northern powers, with England and Transylvania. Christina now recommends that: 1) the Habsburgs join with her German legions in Pommerania to attack the Swedes in Poland. 20.000 men under Montecuccoli will do; 2) The Danes and the Dutch must attack Sweden. (The Danes do this in 1657 and thus destroy Gustavus' Polish campaign.) 3) The Pope must unite the Italians; 4) Finally, Christina announces her demonstrative travel to Innsbruck through Germany.

In November 1655, others as well discerned the strategies of Cromwell and the Swede: "It seems to have begun with a suggestion reminiscent of Gustavus Adolphus that England might invade Flanders, form a strong Army there, and later, with increased power, enter Germany, and 'with God's help make an end to the Pope's dominion'."⁵³

A very similar scenario, with Charles Gustavus' Polish war as the prelude to the destruction of the Church, is depicted in the Italian dialogue *La Regina Scurtata* in 1662. (The pamphlet even takes the view that Charles Gustavus and his hostile camp caused Christina to leave the throne. In 1823, the Swedish historian E. G. Geijer argued with a quite different emphasis that Christina had left because of incompetence. But, as A. Fryxell soon pointed out, he tended to idealize the conditions during her minority. "Why should one jealously separate the flower from its stalk?" Fryxell asked, instead, emphasizing Charles Gustavus' brutal ignorance.) Christina's anti-Protestant instructions to the Emperor are also born out in the pamphlets called "When the Bear quarrelled with the Elephant" during the war in Poland 1657. The Protestant camp is represented as involved in an internal fight. Christina sits on a bench with Alexander VII among other European heads and says: "If this fight would end in a contract I would be in great trouble." The latin pamphlet *Casus Mirus Casimiro* (1657) was spread in order

⁵³ Raimondo Montecuccoli, *I Viaggi . . . 1655*. Repr. Torino 1924, p. 145- 148. Michael Roberts, *Swedish Diplomats at Cromwell's Court 1655-1656* 1988. p. 204, quoting Abbot iv, 28.

to hold up Christina's conversion as a sign in favour of the Polish King against the Swede.⁵⁴

But Christina's move to shortcut the Polish war was *not* rooted in a general anti-Protestantism. Her relation to England shows this. In 1657, Christina sent a messenger to Cromwell to hand over a written document, probably on her reasons for executing Monaldescho. Cromwell was warned that her Irish priests knew how to make poisonous letters, but the Lord Protector did not feel threatened, he laughed and went on to read the letter without hesitation. In 1658, on Christina's second stay in Paris, it was thought that she planned to go to England. Again the question of her monarchical status stirred debate and predictions. Rumours had spread that she wanted to marry Cromwell, and one report suggests that she was involved with solicitations to arrange a marriage between Cromwell's son and Mazarin's niece—an ingenious way to prevent Charles Stuart from restituting the monarchy.⁵⁵ Thus, these activities amount to nothing less than a consistently pursued theologically-political conspiracy, which involved among other things, starting a Protestant revolution in France, putting Condé on the throne, or when that failed, creating an alliance between Mazarin's family and Cromwell's, and establishing a throne for Christina in Catholic lands. She seems to have counted on the future success of Cromwell, who in spite of his lack of royal blood had set himself up as God's Englishman.

In discussions on Saumaise's pamphlet *Defensio Regia Carolis* (1650), which was paid for by Charles Stuart against the Commonwealth, she openly claimed her liking for Milton's anti-royalist tract on regicide, *The Defence of the English People* (1651).⁵⁶ Her

⁵⁴ M. G. Stassi, "Un Trattamento Politico" inedito di Girolami Brusoni 'La Regina Scurtata'". Veneta 1981. p. 18 ff. Fred Sandblad, "'Nar Björnen brakade med Elefanten'—medaljen och kopparsticket som allegorisk bildpropaganda under Karl X Gustavs Krig". Arneemuseum. 1986. p. 73–111. p. 83–84.

⁵⁵ John Thurloe *State Papers* Vol VI, 3 May 1657, Phillipi Passerini: "He delivered his secret message to his highness [Cromwell] . . . it was a particular account of the causes why she ordered her servant, the Italian Marquis, to be put to death in France; and . . . several matters in order to Alliances with Foreign Princes, which were of great Consequence. and [sic] probable Advantage to England; and the Protector seemed pleased with it."

—D. H. Firth, *The Last Years of the Protectorate 1654–1657*. For the marriage plan see Gregorio Leti, *Vita d'Oliver Cromwell* (1730) p. 381. Arckenholtz (1751) Vol II pp. 23–24 disputes Leti's version of the event. Arckenholtz notes that Leti calls Christina's messenger Madalschi, and that in Leti's *Theatro Brittanico* (1690) vol. V. pp. 116–117, the name is Maldeschi, suggesting Monaldeschi, the victim at Fontainebleau; but note the promise of an alliance at the end of the quotation above.

⁵⁶ Arckenholtz (1751) vol. I, p. 236. For Christina's early interest in Cromwell see Bulstrode Whitelocke, *A Journal of the Swedish Embassy in the Years 1653 and 1654*.

personal view of the regicide surfaces in the story of an English spy who in 1654 tells that the Dutch Ambassador Conrad van Beuningen "is returned from Sweden, and doth relate a pleasant word of the queen, who asked him a question, if he thought it so strange to cut the king of England's head off? Beuningen said that he thought it very strange. She said, no; for that they had cut him off a member, wherewith he served himself very little, or very ill."⁵⁷

Christina carried Cromwell's portrait with her to Rome and she had hopes for future advantages from England in the Naples plan. In pre-abdication negotiations with Ambassador Whitelocke, Christina had proposed to unite with England against Denmark and made Whitelocke report in invisible ink that she wanted England's help to become ruler of Zeeland. In negotiating the conditions for her abdication, she at one point had demanded that she be settled on Gotland at the heart of the Baltic sea.⁵⁸

A small, but crucial, piece of information on Christina's knowledge of the awaited political reconstructions was dropped to Montecuccoli during a carriage ride after an evening with the secretaries of Conde in 1655. Christina wanted to talk about the "cinque gran fortune" of one "Bouginkam"—two on the Queen of England, two on the King of France and one on Bohemia. Quite possibly she was referring to the first Duke of Buckingham—the favourite of King James who for many years acted as England's real ruler. In 1624, Buckingham went to Spain with Prince Charles in order to arrange a marriage with the Spanish infanta. He argued for the betrothal between England and Spain with the claim that it would restore Bohemia to Protestant control and thereby put an end to the antagonisms on the continent. The Catholics were offered the rhetoric of a renewed empire akin to the universal empire of Constantine the Great. However, the marriage negotiations failed abysmally. The five prophecies have not been identified, but it is known that the Duke often had consulted an astrologer, Dr. John Lambe. He was called "Buckingham's wizard" and was butchered by a crowd in 1628, the same year as the Duke was murdered. These rather strange circumstances may have induced Christina to

(1855). On Milton and Saumaise see the *Complete Prose works of John Milton*. Vol. IV 1650–55. New Haven and London 1966. Appendix B pp. 962–973.

⁵⁷ *Thurloe State Papers*, 20 July 1654 at the Hague, vol. III, p. 451.

⁵⁸ On Christina's portraits at her Palace in Rome, see Karl Erik Steneberg, *Kristinatidens maleri*. 1955. p. 87. See also Bulstrode Whitelock's *Journal* in 1653 for Christina's various claims that she wants to go to India(!), to settle in the Baltic or in Denmark. In 1651, she told Vossius and Saumaise that she wanted to retire for study in Holland.

pay closer attention to the content of the prophecies. At that time, a binding alliance between the most important crowns in Europe would have been a speedy way to settle the fate of Bohemia and thereby secure the European balance of powers.⁵⁹

While Curt Weibull has shown that, in 1657, Christina was plotting with Mazarin, Montecuccoli, and the Duke of Modena for the crown of Naples, little attention has been given to the events and possible subplots that preceded this scheme. The evidence here presented for a reevaluation of Christina's plans in 1655, shows several unaccounted for aspects that relate back to her abdication act and what she intended to do with her new role as unbound royalty. The central assumption of this book has been that there are four important questions to be raised concerning the abdication that can be answered by the millenarian scenario: What was Christina's relation to the group who wanted Charles Gustavus as the future Swedish king? What kind of scenario did the Spaniards offer regarding her future role? What did Christina expect to gain in helping the Condé-group to seize Bordeaux? What did the gate on Piazza del Popolo really signify?

What we do know is that in the year before her entry into Rome, she was drawn into negotiations for a general peace, mediating between France and Spain, and she was reading historiographic and prophetic statements concerning such a peace. These activities were prepared by debates in Stockholm. The Queen's syncretist tutor, Johannes Matthiae, in an effort to save his name from charges that he was responsible for Christina's conversion, in an open letter on 7 December 1655, in fact suggested that she should use her newly won power to work for ecclesiastical peace also in Rome.⁶⁰ As we have seen, Christina also worked out a concrete plan to stop the Swedish-Polish War since she believed she had identified the expansionist intentions of the newly crowned Swedish King. While she showed no signs of a convert's piety, she used all

⁵⁹ Raimondo Montecuccoli, *I Viaggi . . .* 1655, 25 September 1654, p. 48. The English continued their interest in restoring the Palatinate. G. V. Buckingham led the Protestant attack on La Rochelle and Isle de Ré in 1628. Christina's source on the prophecy may have been the spiritualist art merchant Michel Le Blon, who had sold a huge Rubens collection to Buckingham.

⁶⁰ Johannes Matthiae to Queen Christina, *Ein bewegliches Schreiben Des Bischoffs zu Strenges an die Wenland Königin in Schweden Christina wegen ihres Abfalls, 7 Dec 1655 Strenges*. In this print Matthiae distances himself from the Queen: "die mit Epicuro nicht alle empfindlichkeit der Religion ausgezogen/ein Zeugniss einer ganz unbeständigen leichtferdigkeit/wenn einer seine Religion/die er vor der wahre rechte grundlich erkannt . . . bald hernach/ auff jede begebenheit thete verlassen . . ."

means to assert her royal status in the Spanish Netherlands.

It is *not* clear whether Christina really had settled for Rome at any time before the papal election of Fabio Chigi in the middle of May 1655. She welcomed his election by saying that she hoped Alexander VII would become as great a patron to the sciences as Leo X or Paul III. In September 1654, she had told Cardinal Chigi that she planned going to Italy; she wanted to see Rome, Naples, and perhaps Sicily. Yet, Antonio Pimentel's relations to Madrid did not report of Christina's decision to go to Rome until the month of August preceding the travel to Innsbruck. In Paris that summer, one heard that the Spanish King had offered Christina to settle in Toledo; and Spanish theatre-designs have survived for a reception planned for her in Madrid.⁶¹

On 22 May 1655, the nuncio in Flanders could report that Christina wanted to spend the summer incognito in Holland. At Utrecht, but also at Dordrecht to the north west, Catholic receptions were planned for her by the political theorists Theodore Graswinckel and William van Blitterswijk. That spring, the Prince of Tarente, le Duc de Tremouille, who lived in exile at the Hague, had his son baptized "Carolus-Belgicus-Hollandicus". Gustav Sparre, the brother of the Queen's mistress, Ebba, represented Sweden at the baptizing ceremony, just after having conferred with Christina at the chateaux Limal outside Navennes, south of Brussels.⁶²

It was in this ambivalent atmosphere that the anonymous Flemish pamphlet *Kort beworp van de dry teghenwoordighe aenmerckens-weerdige Wonderheden des Werelids* (Cologne, 1656) appeared. It illustrated the temper of the times quite starkly with Cromwell riding the seavenheaded beast of the Apocalypse, while Mazarin and Lucifer give him instructions in an onslaught against the Catholic Habsburg Emperor and the Spanish King. Cromwell is seen as the "bride" or woman of the Beast; thus with a peculiar hairdo. His campaign threatens the whole of Europe. The *Kort beworp* contests first, that it is certain that we live in the last days of the world.

⁶¹ Nils Berencrentz, *Antonio Pimentel's Depescher*. . . 1961.

⁶² Nunciatura di Fiandra 1654-55. Bibl. Vaticana, copies in E 159 u 38 f. 45, 39 f. 17, 18, Uppsala UB. It is not known whether Christina spent May/June in Holland. She sometimes also visited the Belgian castle Tervueren. C. Burenstam, (1891) p. 121. In September 1655, Cromwell and Charles Gustavus joined with France against Holland and Austria, this may have decided Christina's switch of allegiance towards France against Spain.

Second, that at this time "Crom-ghewalt" has arrived as the promised Anti-Christ, and the party of Anti-Christ has begun to play its vicious play with the Queen of Sweden and "Mas-ruin". But that third, God through the holy conversion of the illustrious Christina Maria Alexandrina has risen up a saviour in the Theatre of the World, in order to overwhelm the new King of Sweden, Crom-ghewalt, Mas-ruin, the grand Turk and other godless rulers of these times. Through her unexpected conversion, Christina can direct a pious plea to Christ; who on his Second Coming casts Lucifer and his party in chains—as the dead are rising from their graves. The pamphlet calls upon the exiled Scottish Monarch Charles Stuart, who is said to have supervised the edition. Dutch new converts that have decided to follow the Swedish Queen to Rome are then interviewed: Iacobus Rolandus and his sister declare themselves inspired by a small providential pamphlet written by the self-educated peasant Arnold van Gheluwen, entitled *Het Licht op den Kandelaar*. Catholics in the Netherlands, had, like their Quaker contemporaries, taken to the spirited signs of light and enlightenment.⁶³

Well aware of her unique role, and as a magnificent symbolic gesture, Christina in June 1655 had instructed Fuensaldaña to prepare a gift for the departing Leopold Wilhelm; a horse and a saddle embroidered in gold, diamonds, and pearls. Then, on 17 August 1655, Christina offered 12.000 German soldiers to Leopold Willhelm for the defence of the Netherlands, who however refused them. He saw that her offer had a political intent, but wrote to Philip IV to explain that he did not believe she had the funding.⁶⁴ With the rise of Don Juan José and with the wide spread of pamphlets on Christina's character, the stakes for gaining a political position Belgium had been raised considerably.

The traditional exclusive focus on Rome does not square well with the questions surrounding Christina's concerted attempts to seize a new throne in Bremen, in Flanders, in Naples, and other places. If indeed Christina's intent was to rise up as a liberal

⁶³ Pamphlet Thysius 1424, Leiden UB esp. pp. 57–59.

⁶⁴ Leopold Wilhelm to Philip IV, in P. Gachard, *Bibliothèques . . . de Madrid et Escorial*, p. 504. However, after Christina's departure, on 27 September and 30 October 1655, Leopold Wilhelm says he wants to accept Christina's German troops, p. 513, 517. Note also the intriguing note 259f. from the Secr. d'Etat et de Guerres: "On pret q'en retour [from Italy] le Roi devrait lui [Christina] donner des terres aux Pays-Bas et en Italie."

Catholic regent in Flanders, or when that failed in Naples, then the hopes of Jews and intellectuals for a new realm of freethought in Europe (of a type they knew existed in Amsterdam) were no longer just a dream. They had only been right to set their hopes to the Swedish Queen who, in Alexander Morus words, had "both the will and the power to gather in the tribes of learning from their dispersion . . . even in the present moment."⁶⁵

⁶⁵ See note 1, Chapter VI of this book.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CHRISTINA IN ROME—ANTIQUITY AND THE MILITANT CHURCH

Christina's conversion was planned to be a massive propaganda victory for the Vatican. After her public conversion in Innsbruck 1655, Christina entered Rome through the gate on Piazza del Popolo to be welcomed by a score of Vatican scholars prepared to commemorate the occasion in panegyrics and hymns. She was taken on tour and at various churches she was shown relics—a plank from the ark of the covenant and Aaron's staff. Yet, Christina did not believe that the staff was the original as it was made of ivory, instead of ebony as written in Scripture. She also argued against the plank by saying that according to Josephus Judaeus, the ark of the covenant had been buried by Ezekiel at the fall of Babylon. Three days earlier she had arrived incognito, followed by her Spanish allies, and the recent convert and Vatican Librarian, Lucas Holstenius. To commemorate her arrival, pamphlets were spread showing Christina's submission to the church, an image of her confirmation by Pope Alexander VII, whom she offers her three crowns—of the Swedes, the Goths, and the Vandals—in turn for her new name “Christina Maria Alexandra”. (She, however, never used the middle name).¹

Some pamphleteers, such as the Amsterdam convert Robert Anslo in his *Triumfo della Virtu*, chose a classical Christian Stoic format to praise her act. Others made attempts at more complex forms, mixing classical allegory with political statements on the convert and the Pope. Augustin Macedo's *Christina Pallas Togata Alexandri VII Auspicijs Romae Triumphatrix* (1656) uses the image of how Hephaistion's intimate relationship with Alexander the Great had made him always see his friend before his mind, so that when the mother of Darius mistook Hephaistion for Alexander he could reply: “You are not wrong, here and now is Alexander.” Now

¹ For a reproduction of the confirmation scene, see F. U. Wrangel. *Drottning Kristinas resa från Rom till franska hovet* 1923. Paulo Negri, “Cristina di Svezia e il Regno di Napoli” 1909, p. 58, 162. In Madrid in 1655, Calderon set up a play on Christina's heroic move: *La protestacion de la Fe*. Calderon in 1654 had written a romance, *Afectos di odio y amor*, on the Swedish Queen and her beloved, Charles Gustavus. In Brussels in 1655, Christina saw his *Life is a Dream*. Calderon also wrote a now lost piece, entitled *Amaranta*.

similarly, the Virgin [Christina] with a clear “specie in mentem” could reply to any inquiry: “In this Alexander, here and now is Christ.”

In L. de Guillelmis’ pamphlet *Amphitheatrum Christina Amazonis Olim Christinae nunc Mariae Alexandrae* (1656), there is a more extended political instruction. The virtues of this latest of great Queens—an absorption of subtle philosophy, potent eloquence, maximal militancy and virile ethics, a command of languages and truly Christian theology—they all coalesce to drive her towards the Church. This is excellent, since “the Amphitheatre will be ROME, the Spectators will be the Universe.” The conditions of the conversion are made clear in verse: “It was Alexander, not the daughter/ whose sanctity moved Christ’s mystery/and whose leadership all pervades.” Rumours said that Christina dissatisfied was led to ask: “Quae in corpore foemines animum viriles gerebat?/ So, can a male soul move in a female body?”, thus at odds with the vanity of the Pope who believed himself to be the author of her conversion.²

To fix this fiction into monumental memory, the ceremonies continued at the *Collegium Romanum*, the home of the Jesuit order, where the dexterous Baroque polyglot, Athanasius Kircher, hailed the abdicated Queen with an Egyptianizing obelisk. Its text, “Magnae Christinae, Isidi redivivae, Obeliscum hunc Arcanis, Veterum Aegyptiorum Notis inscriptum,” was inscribed in thirty three languages, oriental and ancient. To further entrench the pervasiveness of the Catholic world, he also gave her an Arabic translation of the Psalms of David, with an index to those passages describing Solomon’s Temple and Moses’ Tabernacle. Kircher argued that these structures must prefigure the Church of Rome.³ Profiting from the reception and the Vatican revenue, Christina explored the city and enjoyed the feasts and theatrical performances given in her honour. Under critical scrutiny, however, the new convert’s attitude was soon discovered. Thurloe’s spies reported that “in Rome she carries herself very politically, but with little respect to her honour.” Alexander VII chastised her, but soon gave up with the explanation that Christina was a barbarous woman, raised by barbarians, and lived with barbarian thoughts.⁴

Christina’s religious beliefs probably were ambiguous. In the

² Johan Arckenholtz, “Bon Mots” Ms. Palmskiold, Uppsala UB, reference to *Mémoires de Joly*, Vol II, p. 163.

³ Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus* 1890–1930. Vols. IV. Article “Kircher”, no. 8 column 1072 B.

⁴ John Thurloe, *Thurloe State Papers* Vol. IV. Longhand to Thurloe, Leghorn 18 Feb. 1655. p. 144. Johan Arckenholtz (1751), vol. I, p. 501.

summer of 1653, the Catholic courtier Boudon de la Salle visited a sermon in Sweden, during which Christina had handed him a book while she whispered "the things you can read here is better than what they preach," it was a theological work on providence, the *Pastor Sion*. Less than a year later, in Stockholm 1654, Isaac Vossius writes in a love-letter to a lady in Paris (possibly a daughter of the librarian de Mesme) that it is pointless to ask the Queen for advice in theology. He added that "pour les livres de theologie elle les a banni absolument de ses bibliotheques et plusieurs de son coeur." The Queen was thinking of other things (presumably the abdication and the following travel to Belgium). Vossius was convinced that first when Christina finds more time one may ask her for books, and then only for those in the Humanist tradition.⁵ Through Heinsius and Vossius, Christina knew the pagan works of Ovid, Catullus, and Petronius, and she was even seen reading Vergil during mass in Hamburg 1654. Through correspondence with various scholars in Vossius' circle, Christina had shown interest in various forms of Neo-Platonic thinking, and in the accuracy and interpretation of the ancient prophetic texts. But in 1655, Isaac Vossius was denied a passletter to Italy, as the Vatican had been warned of his heretical interests. The Vatican instead promoted Father Manderscheidt's argument that Christina's interest in Porphyry and Proclus could be assimilated to the Catholic mysticism of Dionysius the Aeropagite. Her criticism and argument against religion in this period indicate that Christina's understanding of the tradition of Hermetic illumination and the concept of the World Soul may not have been entirely determined for either the orthodox or the heretical path.

Yet, when she privately converted in Brussels on Christmas Eve 1654, she must have settled for some major reinterpretations of her earlier views. We know that her meetings that fall in Antwerp with Isaac La Peyrère and Menasseh ben Israel highlighted and confirmed her providential beliefs. On 4 November 1654, in conversation with Montecuccoli, Christina admitted that she regretted her reputation and the fact that she was considered an atheist. The consequence had been that she now had less influence on the election of the Roman Emperor than when she had been in her own realm; the Spanish King was mistaken in having believed otherwise. Yet, Christina wanted to defer the conversion for the sake of her tranquillity. She was given over to a series of spiritual exercises

⁵ C. de Baillon, *Souvenirs . . .* in *Le Correspondent* 1878. Isaac Vossius to a lady in Paris, n. d. 1654. Amsterdam UB, D. 66. Nordström, box 11, Uppsala UB.

of whose content there is no information. Among the talk of her irreligion in Belgium, the Spaniards could only say that Christina read St. Augustine—they were convinced that her private conversion in Brussels depended on her reading the *Confessions*.⁶

The Refutation of Scepticism in Christina's Academy, 1656

Not long after her arrival in Italy, Christina proceeded to hold academies twice a month in which speakers were to elaborate on topics chosen by herself. In June, shortly before her unexpected departure to Paris, she held the closing meeting of the *Accademia Regia della Laeta di Svezia*. It staged a refutation of the Pyrrhonian sectarians, the syndicate of indiscrete philosophanti, who along with Arcesilaos had set “in dubbio ogni cosa”, believing all causes undecidable.⁷ The content of this refutation could have escaped us wholly, if not the moment in which it was stated was crucially conditioned by the critical stage of millenarian expectation—the renewal of Noah’s covenant, instituted in the year 1656 before Christ. The full import and utility of these expectations had grown all the more clearer to European politicians and especially to Christina through her talks with Isaac La Peyrère during her year of anticipation in Belgium in 1654–55. Now in the middle of the crucial year 1656, the speaker in Christina’s Roman Academy, Girolamo Mazzoni, a priest also known for his astrology, declared that he was prepared to answer the Pyrrhonian arguments. He first of all made clear that Scepticism of the Pyrrhonist kind only induces obstinate opposition to authority, but it does so in a dispersed staccato fashion that can lead to no systematic insight. His critical point is that the principle of the Pyrrhonist’s exaggerated doubt can not be formulated in language, seemingly to indicate that Pyrrhonism can be no more than a continual negation of positive assertions. Instead, Mazzoni tries to persuade his audience that the sceptic’s state of doubt can be replaced by an heroic virtue whose rays shall reign over the intellect like a natural diadem. An indecisive mind will be relieved when the soul is agitated with this fury, producing an enduring mental state that goes beyond any assurance founded on a great probability or consensus of opinion. Dante’s *Comedia* shows us the glory of this

⁶ Montecuccoli, *I Viaggi . . .* (1655) p. 68. J. de Barrionuevo, *Avisos . . . (1654–58)*, ed. 1969, p. 223.

⁷ Accademia Regia della Laeta di Svezia 24 June 1656, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana, Urbinato Ms. Lat. 1692, ff. 45–52. f. 46, 47.

certitude and Plutharch's *Moralia* and its descriptions of the ancient thinkers assure us that the irresolution produced by sceptical philosophy never has held any place in great nations. Thus, Mazzoni appeals solely to an internal experience of certitude, known in the creative act.

Arcesilaos, the leader of the middle Academy and the first to have introduced the notion of "epoché" into Pyrrhonism, in his time criticized the Stoics for their belief that there are certain "phantasia kataleptiké", i. e. perceptions so distinct from all others and so evidently true that no doubt is possible concerning them. Mazzoni's position thus may seem to be a restatement of the belief to which Arcesilaos originally addressed his doubts. Arcesilaos claimed that there is no criterion for distinguishing the characteristics of the special perceptions from ordinary ones. Mazzoni's argument is that there is a tradition in which these characteristics have been enshrined. The lights of certitude are set out in the ancient tradition, in the books on the Deiform City of antiquity, such as in Iamblichos' *de Mistero dei Egitto*, the writings of Mercurius Trismegistos, and the *Pimander*.

Mazzoni goes on to describe these writings and points to their exhibit of the ancient heroes—how they inhabit the purest part of the air, where they delight on dew, and where they do not suffer ordinary turbulence and tempests. They excel through exercise of heroic habits, just as Aristotle has affirmed that heroic virtue "supra nos est". The audience was then offered some elitist mythology: the noble and well born, following the example of Alexander, Caesar, and Darius, can through their moral and heroic habits be transformed into Gods. They become the "demidieux" often referred to in monarchical panegyrics, for instance in Urbain Chevreau's ballet *Les Liberalitez des Dieux*, danced in Stockholm in 1652 where Christina three times was eulogized "elle est de la race des demi-dieux". This achieved, they shine with the splendour of a Sun and outshine other inhabitants of the Zodiac. Vergil's *Aeneid* has told how since the days of Troy the heroism of Achilles reigns in Italy and while Italians have given up their reign and empire, the self-same spirit is now deposited in the Great Mother of Christ, the Church of the Catholic Apostolic faith. Thus, Mazzoni's discourse on the heroic heritage was crafted to fit not only those on the fringes of conformity, like speculative astrologians, natural historians, or the mere enthusiasts, but now even the mainstream Church could adopt the language of pure inspiration. In Christina's academy a rhetorical affirmation of a superior experience was seen to be sufficient to end the threat posed by the sceptical crisis. Rational

objectivity was not even the goal; it was instead to convey the shortest practical road to heroic action.

The Paris Academy and the Crown of Naples

Full of confidence, Christina could set sail for Marseille and after a triumphant journey through Lyon and Dijon, she in September would reach Paris where Gallic Messianism now had a wide influence. At the *Academie de France* she was hailed with a phrase that encapsulated the providential rhetoric: “*Fecit te Suecia Christianam, Romam Christianam, fecit te Gallia Christianissimam.*”⁸ Perhaps the Paris reception best illustrates how in 1656 an answer to the sceptics would seek a foundation in a heightened emotivism. Currents of providentialism had joined in millenarianism to produce an imagery rather distant from the wisdom that flows from Christina’s own sceptical *Maxim*: “One cannot believe anything before one has dared to doubt”.

In Paris, Hugues de Lione had started to negotiate a marriage between the Spanish infanta and the King of France, an alliance that was to be concluded in 1659 at the Pyrenées after much work by Antonio Pimentel in Madrid. But in 1656, before leaving Rome, Christina had demonstratively alienated Pimentel and della Cueva in a public ceremony by ridiculing their way of taking off, and putting on, their hats. With the new vice-regent in Brussels, her Spanish companions no longer had anything to offer her. She instead directed all her energy towards the Church and her *amour* for Pimentel seemed to have simply vanished. The stage apparatus for the sacred plays designed to welcome the Queen at the court of Philip IV were never taken in use. Curt Weibull has shown how Christina instead turned to the anti-Spanish Naples scheme by leaving Rome for her mysterious journey to Paris. The political reasons for her alienation of her Spanish companions remained obscure even in 1656 when Christina was triumphantly received by the young Louis XIV and thousands of curious Paris citizens. A secret treaty was sealed with Mazarin to secure French arms in an attack on Naples, and Christina would symbolically marshal the new regime. Her reception at the French Academy was part of this

⁸ Azzolino collection, X. f. 242, Riksarkivet Stockholm. Compare Hercule de Lager’s letter to Christina in 1652: “Que V. M. a este choisie par le Roy du Ciel pour instruire par son example les Roy de la terre . . . Vous devez donc Madame renouveler la face de Monde, et purger le siècle de ses défauts.” Bibl. Nationale, Paris, Fond Fr. 17199. no. 1756. Nordström, box 10, Uppsala UB.

planned elevation. Guy Patin relates how one provocatively spoke of the theme “les jeux des Princes qui ne plaisent qu'à ceux qui les font”. Her comment to Gilles Menage was controlled: “The ideas of the ancients contain as many sinister devices as those of the moderns.”⁹

Through Menage, Christina met with the Jansenist Antoine Arnauld who handed her a fresh copy of Pascal's first twelve *Provincial Letters* which attack Jesuit ideas on the absolution of sin by repentence in prayer and works. Later, in 1676, she wrote that she admired Arnauld and Nicole but for their Jansenism, which may indicate that she had read their jointly produced *Port Royal Logic* which contained Lancelot's famous *Grammar* as an integral part.¹⁰ Rationalist Grammar has been described as a Cartesian enterprise, but as we have seen linguistic historians have shown that it is better seen as the culmination of the increasingly purist linguistic studies originating in emanationist metaphysics of Kabballist and neo-Platonic inspiration.¹¹ Was it, by the way, merely a coincidence that the general transition from complex genealogies towards the inward structure of thought was like Christina's transitions from Hermetic-Platonic emanation theories to an internalist Quietism?

After meeting Louis XIV and his brother at Compiègne, where courtiers still believed that Philip IV had promised her residence in Toledo, Christina left for Torino and the Duchy of Savoy. Her winter in Pesaro away from the plague in Rome in 1656 became a tenuous wait for spring, and with it action in the planned attack on Naples. Turning from elation to doubt, she wrote to Lucas Holsteinius asking why Plato had burnt his poetry when he started to philosophize and added sadly that Platonic works are as rare here as the Unicorn. She decided to travel to Venice, but was urged to go incognito since the city could not afford a reception. Her reputation was at a peak, but she desperately needed an official position and confessed to Mazarin: “God threatens the world with a great peace, yet I love the storm and fear the calm.” Eight months passed in Pesaro, then Christina left for Paris again, now for new negotiations with Mazarin. Their plans were to gather Neapolitan refugees around Francesco D'Este, the Duke of Modena, and to with the aid of the French army attack Naples in a

⁹ Sven Stolpe, *Drottning Kristina*, 1984, p. 434.

¹⁰ Christina to Bourdelot 1679, in Sven Stolpe (1984) p. 434.

¹¹ The interconnected development of comparative and rationalist linguistics is argued for by Arno Borst (1960).

surprise raid. They counted on getting naval assistance from Cromwell.¹²

But in November 1657 at Fontainebleau, it was discovered that her Italian aide, the Neapolitan Marquise Monaldescho, had betrayed her plans to the Spaniards, and the Naples plan was destroyed. Taking her own revenge, Christina and two of her aids confronted Monaldescho with copies of his letters, and on Christina's orders he was coldbloodedly executed. Since Monaldescho had a coat of armor underneath his shirt, his throat had to be cut. The blood stained a fifth of the floor at *Gallerie des Cerfs*—the hunting hall of the Kings of France. Pater Le Bel, who gave Monaldescho absolution, had tried to appeal: "Atleast show some pity and hand him over to the justice of the King of France". But Christina had burst out: "What! Should I, in whom resides the absolute and sovereign justice over my subjects see myself reduced to sollicit for a traitor of whose perfidy and crimes I possess written documents, signed by his own hand. No, I shall tell the King of France when time seems fit." She took God as witness that she was not aiming at Monaldescho's person, nor had she acted out of hatred, but she had "considered that his crime had no equal, since his treason *concerned all the world*."¹³

After Fontainebleau, Christina's reputation passed from amazement and admiration to horror and contempt. Mazarin decided to have the Queen stay out of the way. He paid her expenses in Rome and tried to persuade the Pope to forgive her. To cut losses Christina set the unused military uniforms intended for Naples for sale in the Hebrew Ghetto in Rome. Weibull concluded that Christina commanded the execution of Monaldescho at Fontainebleau as the end to her designs with the French crown. Unable to relate the true reason for her act, the plan on Naples, she had to recede as a major figure in European politics. Sven Stolpe noted that shortly after the murder, in 1657 in Pesaro, Christina wrote that she would be happy if *Gloria Patri* could walk through the world, but that she held it impossible. Stolpe argued that her statement is a rejection of the incarnation doctrine. He connected her statement with her preceding confident claim that although the Purgatorio is an article of faith, she could not believe in it. Stolpe later discarded his interpretation and instead takes *Gloria Patri* to

¹² Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. II. p. 144. Christina to Mazarin April 1657. Curt Weibull, *Drottning Christina och Monaldescho* 1936. pp. 130, 149 ff, 165.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 39–50. Chaussard, *Les Antenors Modernes* (Paris 1806) Vol. II, p. 497.

mean the Catholic Church in general—which still creates tension in his view of Christina's conversion.¹⁴

However, I think that the millenarian context of her initiatives in Belgium and the intellectual background of the Naples plan shows that her statement was conditioned by her recent failure to gain a position in Catholic unionism. While her execution was regarded as a cruel deed, the King of France had not denounced it, and in many respects her royal status was enhanced through it. As her designated public role as pious convert now was impossible to maintain, the Papacy was more than willing to let Christina find a new platform and through her Hamburg investigations resettle Pomerania, Sweden, Bremen, or Poland. It is significant that while her new attempt to gain a throne in Bremen in 1667 did not succeed, Christina made a serious attempt to claim the prophetic nature of her candidacy to the throne of Catholic Poland. She was the Pope's official candidate. It was probably not until after Poland 1668 that Christina could no longer be seen as a providential roleholder. From now on it seems, she was instead seen as no more than a patron of the arts for a closed group of intellectuals at Rome. A new pope that would listen to her schemes was her only hope to once again grasp the springs of action, and, of course, to this end she chartered Cardinal Azzolino. This scheme, amid the millenarian context of the time, sheds a special light on her view in her Maxims that the world is waiting for a spiritual shepherd and a sheepfold, a promise that cannot be accomplished by any secular Prince:

Dieu a promis qu'il y a aura un Seul Berger et une Seul bergerie un jour, cette promesse ne se peut accomplir en la personne d'aucun Prince seculier.¹⁵

In her later life, then, Christina was sure that God has promised a future shepherd who will act alone in the lead of a unified Church to effect a spiritual restoration. The image is Catholic, but her formulation suggests that she has the theory of the Angelic Pope in mind: A pope who as a political messiah could save Europe from disintegration. However, she now also felt a need to state her disbelief in a political messiah from the secular realm.

¹⁴ Sven Stolpe, *Credo* 1959. pp. 213, 216–217.

¹⁵ Christina: *Maximes diverses* no. 234, Montpellier.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE POLISH ELECTION—THE LAST WASA THRONE

Despite Johan Cassimir Wasa's success in the Polish-Swedish war of 1656–57, with its pro-Catholic legends about his role as the Black Madonna's betrothed, he became increasingly weary of government and made known that he wanted to retire. Johan Cassimir's declaration of the Black Madonna as Poland's Celestial Queen had been a critical moment in the Polish national perception of its territory as a millenarian ground for the fight against the infidels of the east and for the final battle of the victorious Catholic church over Protestant heresy. The forced election of 1667 thus came to be considered as a crucial event in the future of the Poles as an independent nation. In 1664, Polish informants made known that the preference of the Frenchborn Queen of Poland for the elective throne was the Prince of Condé.¹ Christina, ex-Queen of Sweden, in her new role as a celebrated convert, now started to make use of the fact that the Polish Wasas had formally reigned as Catholic electors of Poland *and* Sweden since the forced exile of her grand paternal cousin Sigismund, sometime Catholic King of Sweden.² She now solemnly declared that she would not have abdicated if Sweden could have become Catholic. Her candidacy was to become a very rare chapter in early modern female politics.

Christina in Hamburg

Christina's stays in Hamburg had led to some embittered failures in her attempts to regain political control. In the wake of the Swedish King's death in 1660, she had tried to intervene in Stockholm, but instead she had been barred by a house arrest in the Royal palace. In 1667, on her second attempt to enter Stockholm under the regency of Charles Gustavus' young son, she was forced to remain in her revenue town Norrköping under the pretext that she had Catholic confessors in her train. Refusing to leave them behind, she was forced to spend a month in the countryside with

¹ Sven Stolpe, *Drottning Kristina*. 1984. p. 439.

² Sigismund Wasa, son of John III, became a Catholic and was elected to the Polish throne in 1587. He ruled in Sweden from 1592 to 1598 when he was ousted by his uncle Charles IX, father of Gustavus Adolphus.

little else to do than to play chess with her servants. Back in Hamburg her design for becoming ruler of Bremen failed with the repulsion of the Swedish troops at the city gates and instead she had to devote her time to alchemy and daily letter writing to Cardinal Azzolino. After the great fire in 1666, there were signs of a Catholic resurgence in London, and Christina mentioned to Cardinal Azzolino that there were hopes that the Dutch-English war could induce the English King to turn Catholic; she added: "si cela est, vous venez que cela produira quelque revolution en France."³ The failure of English Catholicism was the final sign that she had to turn her eyes away from the west to places more favourable to her Catholic image.

It is in this context that one must see her most infamous act in Hamburg in 1667. When Christina's favourite candidate, the liberal Cardinal Rospigliosi, won the Papal election, she arranged a gigantic feast with fountains of wine, fireworks, and an enormous banner with the text "Clement IX. Vivat". Her public support for the Pope enraged the Protestant citizens who had gathered around the palace. Some started to destroy the lavish decorations and others threw stones at the windows. The turbulence turned to a siege and Christina ordered her guard to fight off the crowd while she fled through a back door. Eight people in the crowd were shot dead and several others were wounded. To protect her image, Christina paid money to the families of the deceased, and had her official story of the events published, in which she calls attention to the "insults" she had suffered from the Hamburg populace. Yet, public journals wrote that on display in the fireworks there also had been pictures of a triumphant Pope trampling the Lutherans under foot.⁴

Stanislaus Lubieniecki, Spy and Socinian

When Christina realized that she had no influence in Sweden and that her hopes for Bremen would not work, she set her thoughts on the Polish elective throne. Her campaign was officially supported by Pope Clement IX and her argumentation for the crown was directed by a very conscious effort to draw on her Catholic conver-

³ Stated in Carl Bildt, *Christine de Suède et Le Cardinal Azzolino* 1899. Azzolino to Christina 15 September 1666. p. 225.

⁴ Arckenholtz (1751), Vol. II. p. 127: "Mais il y avoit au dessus une figure de l'Eucharistie dans un nuage, adorée par les Anges, & plus bas l'Eglise en habit Pontifical, qui foulloit aux pieds l'hérésie." Christina's version of the "insult" was printed shortly afterwards and is now found in the Montpellier Collection.

sion. But one should not assume that this was part of an entirely cynical scheme. Christina's interest in Poland and the crucial question of church reform had grown through a series of circumstances during her attempt to influence the Swedish crown in 1660. In Hamburg, she met refugees from the east who could inform her about Polish internal politics. Because of their alliance with the Swedish invaders in the war in Poland, the Unitarian Polish brethren were banned in 1658 and thus were forced to seek exile to the west.

One of Christina's Polish informants was Stanislaus Lubieniecki (1623–1675), the historiographer of the Unitarian movement, who had been forced to settle in Hamburg while trying to argue for a place of refuge for his followers.⁵ In his *Historiae Reformationis Polonicae* (1684), he argues that church theologians have corrupted the original apostolic message, that later thinkers had introduced the Trinity in order to make Christ and the Holy Spirit into new divinities whose symbols could easily be handled by a clergy no longer interested in their personal struggle for redemption. In the tradition of Michael Servetus and Faustus Socinus, Lubieniecki held that a true believer understands that Christ is only the Son of God and that the way to salvation is to live scrupulously according to the law of the Scriptures. The Unitarians saw their role as a prophetic quest for truth, and in his *Historiae*, Lubieniecki argues that Martin Luther had been the first to reveal the fraud of the Catholic church in 1517, and that thirty-five years later the reformation was radicalized when the full truth of the fabrication of the Trinity was presented by the Unitarians. As it was 1517 years from the passage of Israel through the Red Sea to the birth of John the Baptist, and as it would take 5×7 years from that time to the founding of the New Church, and as the same events would take place under the new covenant, the true Church was revealed to be Unitarian.⁶

From Lubieniecki's records we know that in 1661 in Hamburg, he discussed religion with Queen Christina "regularly and frequently" in the presence of the Imperial Ambassador John de Goes and other diplomats. While Unitarians were despised by almost every variety of Trinitarian Christians, Christina apparently had few qualms about employing their Polish intelligence services. That

⁵ K. E. Jordt-Jørgensen, *Stanislaw Lubieniecki*. 1968. George Huntston Williams, *The Polish Brethren—The History and Thought of Unitarianism . . . 1601–1685*. 1980. Notes nos. 28, 29, 519, 545, 591.

⁶ K. E. Jordt-Jørgensen (1968), p. 97.

she also engaged in public discussions with this very well known Unitarian again shows that in contrast to many of her official letters, she did not in practice refrain from taking theological risks.⁷

After Charles Gustavus' death in 1660, and with the failed reintroduction of Unitarians to Poland at the peace treaty at Oliwa, Lubieniecki abandoned his reliance on Sweden and now had to work as diplomatic informant for various crowns: Danish, English, French, and even the Habsburgs. Lubieniecki had until then tried to urge tolerant ideals on Charles X Gustavus and hoped that the influence from the King's mentor Johannes Lenaeus and his *De Veritate et excellentia Christianae Religionis. Brevis Information* (1638) would sustain John Dury's irenic ideology in the North.⁸ When these hopes perished with the death of this second Lion of the North, Lubieniecki turned to Fredrik III of Denmark who supported him and gave him the opportunity to argue for his religion. In Copenhagen, Lubieniecki held a public dispute with the Jesuit Muhlmann on scriptural interpretation. In their exile the Unitarians were forced to argue even more systematically for their anti-Trinitarian view of unity in God and to defend their practice of regarding the Lord's supper as only a commemoration of Jesus, not a mystical union. But as Lubieniecki's Unitarian views influenced several Danes, hostility against him grew and Lubieniecki had to move back to Hamburg where he cultivated Queen Christina's campaign for Poland.⁹

Trying to obtain settlements for his exiled friends by soliciting and pamphleteering, Lubieniecki kept up contacts all over Europe on differing conceptions of astronomical phenomena. As I mentioned above, in his *Theatrum Cometicum . . . opus mathematicum, physicum, historicum, politicum, theologicum, ethicum, oecumenicum, chronologicum* (Amsterdam 1667), he discusses the two comets of 1664–65 and relates the opinions of a network of scholars such as Guericke, Boulliau, Kircher, Riccioli, Curtius, Rautenstein, Wiszowati, Rudbeck, and Heinsius. Describing his comet history and world history to Henry Oldenburg, the Secretary of the Royal Society, Lubieniecki envisioned his project as a "Philosophical College" in pursuit of correct records. However, the comprehensive gathering of information, the collection of opinions among astronomers, and the many lavish charts of astronomical phenomena, made the book long-winded, difficult to handle, and hard to sell. Lubieniecki distributed

⁷ G. H. Williams (1980), n. 34 p. 533.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 526. K. E. Jordt-Jørgensen (1968) pp. 93, 95.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 101, 107.

it to several monarchs with the hope that it would promote his cause and it is probable that the compilation in fact was a Unitarian project for showing how local interpretations are destroyed by a general and historical approach. The court physicist of the Duke of Tuscany is reported to have said that its thesis really was "Hic dicit haec, ille dicit illa, iste dicit ista."¹⁰ Christina got her copy in 1673, but in 1663, Lubieniecki was on her payroll, and they met again in Hamburg in 1667.

Lubieniecki had some success in his pro-Unitarian plans; his extolling of *Gluckstadii vera Tychopolis* (1667) was an attempt to move Fredrik III of Denmark to develop his new commercial town on the pattern of the Dutch Friedrichstadt open for all denominations: Arminians, Lutherans, Catholics, Mennonites, Unitarians, Jews, and perhaps even Turks if there be any.¹¹ Lubieniecki referred to the stock-exchange in Amsterdam as an example of how people with differing opinions can reach an agreement that would further everybody's course. As a Unitarian he could, correspondingly, tolerate everyone. The secular senate of Hamburg saw little to quarrel about with him and referred to the successful acceptance of Jews in the city. But when Jews and Calvinists had made such a stir in 1667 (a probable reference to the Sabbatai Sevi phenomenon), the Spiritual council accused Lubieniecki of turning innocents to his godless Unitarianism. "Can one forbid a Wolf not to go after the Lamb? Can one forbid a weed not to spread?" they asked, complaining that his appeal to reason and scripture must alter the grace of believing in Christ.¹² He openly held views that were thought to lead to the Jewish and the Turkish creeds. He argued that the passage in 1 John 5:20 was a forgery, and he objected to Romans 9:5.¹³ He corresponded with people all over (some said even with Turkey). Rumours said that he wanted to settle a thousand of his followers in England or in Norway. He intruded himself upon everyone. Clearly, one must get rid of the man.¹⁴ Lubieniecki had to leave Hamburg for Amsterdam where he published his work on the comets, with Christina's financial support.

There might have been some truth to the accusations. Lubieniecki had wide contacts and he did not refrain from openly arguing his case. As a Polish knight, Lubieniecki had in his youth

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 108.

¹¹ *Ibid.* pp. 64-73.

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 104-105.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 88.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 106.

been able travel widely in France and Holland. He had met Louis Cappel the Christian Hebraist, and Moize Amyraut the Huguenot theologian in 1648. He met Jesuits and Jansenists, he studied at Leiden, met Descartes in 1649, and was a lifelong friend of Nicholas Heinsius. One of his Unitarian fellows, Andreas Wiszowaty, sent him comments in 1665–66 on the astronomical theories of Gassendi, Kepler, Galileo, and Campanella. In 1665, Wiszowaty, also sent a manuscript with objections to the Trinity to Christian Boineburg and thus stirred a reply from Leibniz, his early work *Defensio Trinitatis* (1669). The debate finally resulted in Wiszowaty's *Religio Rationalis* (1676) that shows the incoherence of Trinitarian Christianity and argues that reason is the only valid criterion for doctrine.¹⁵

While the original Socinians had emphasized the revealed character of their insights, Unitarians in exile increasingly emphasized the rationality of their stance, and their arguments have been shown to have influenced philosophers such as Spinoza and Samuel Sorbière, French translator of Hobbes, More, and Gassendi. Unitarian ideas like Lubieniecki's were later to influence the private religious views of Jean Le Clerc, John Locke, and Isaac Newton. But at this early stage, the risks involved in professing Unitarianism were very high. When Lubieniecki in Amsterdam wrote a signed introduction to a Unitarian treatise by Johan Crell and Johannes Schlichting, he had gone a step too far. On his return to Hamburg he was constantly attacked by the Lutheran theologian and famous Christian Hebraist Eben Ezra, teacher of the pietist Jakob Spener. In 1675 under strange circumstances, Lubieniecki was poisoned and died before completing his historiography.¹⁶

The Argument for the Polish Throne, 1667

By 1667, Christina had become very well informed about the various renderings of political plans for reaching a more universal concord in Europe, and she now, due to Lubieniecki, could evaluate the Polish platform as the instrument to effect their passage from plans to reality.¹⁷ In 1667, Christina started her campaign by

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 30. G. H. Williams (1980), n. 20 p. 531. Andreas Wiszowaty, *Religio Rationalis* 1676. Wolfenbüttler Studien zur Aufklärung, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel 1984. Compare Yosef Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism* 1989. pp. 274–275.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* n. 85, p. 539. K. E. Jordt-Jørgensen (1968), pp. 112–116.

¹⁷ Louis André, "La candidature de Christine de Suède au Trône de Pologne (1668)" *Revue Historique* 1908 vol. II. pp. 209–243. Based on Christina's Polish

securing the support of the Holy See, and through her courier, the Cistercian Father Hacki, she corresponded with Warsaw to prove her claim to surpass all other candidates by birth and perhaps also by merit.¹⁸ Her strategy was simple—it was to prove that she was the most suitable candidate for a peaceful and Catholic Poland. As the Pope's candidate, she made assurances to the Holy See to follow its direction in securing a Catholic Monarch. As a Wasa, she had a right of birth to claim. Relying on her Catholic confirmation, she then argued that it was in the interest of the Polish Republic to elect her as she was not of age, nor of will, to marry. Her case, she argued, would not create the complication of descendants claiming satisfaction or power over the electorship.¹⁹

Warsaw replied to her statement that the only problem with her candidacy would be "the obstacle of her sex", and that there were propositions to get rid of the electorship and make the Crown hereditary. Christina then contemplated lying about her age so that there could be a presumption she could still have children. Christina's refusal to marry has been much discussed and some have connected it to her bisexual psychology. In the nineteenth century, Emil Daniels argued that her ardent character could not be considered natural: "I believe much more—that 'calore', instead of being interpreted in a psychological-sexual sense, must be given a pathological-gynecological meaning. Cardinal Azzolino has stated that the trancelike and heated (calore) temperament of her youth had made her bodily unfit for motherhood. This would very well accord with what Bildt and von Ranke tell of how most of her ideal accomplishments and virtues fall in her more mature years, when she was bodily and spiritually calmer." This dwelling on a for Christina particular psychological disturbance was clearly conditioned by nineteenth-century preconceptions of women and motherhood and has not been very fruitful. Stolpe was inspired by this debate when he tried to explain the conversion in terms of a crisis that was resolved by the cult of virginity. While Lutheranism lacked a positive symbolic role for women outside of marriage, Catholicism had a system specifically adapted to such choices. But this explanation does not accord with the fact that in the North the ancient ideal had been revived, and with it the many gods and goddesses. It is important to see that Christina did not act out "le

papers in the Montpellier Collection, Vol. IX. G. H. Williams (1980), p. 492, Carl Bildt (1899), Christina to Azzolino 17 November 1966. p. 267 ff.

¹⁸ Louis André (1908), p. 212.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 212.

complexe de Diane"—the frequent dewomanized and desensualized role played by Catholic saints and heroines. The interest of her case lies instead in her early compensatory identification with Alexander and I believe that it can have been a cause of her adoption of messianic projections.²⁰

In the Polish election, Christina took her role seriously enough to realize that she had to settle for repeating that for an elective throne the circumstance of her being childless was in fact an advantage—her apanage would be less than other candidates and no dynastic complications or illicit influence from a husband would ensue. As to the "obstacle of her sex," she thought that it could not include her not being married, a union which she in any case would not accept even for the crown of the universe.²¹ She also cited the extraordinary precedence of Hedwig, the daughter of Louis the Great of Hungary and Poland, who had been formal regent of Poland in 1384, and Joanna Jagellonica who in 1574 had become Queen of Poland after the departure of the French king Henri.²² Christina stressed the fact that she had already reigned as a child and that she could render justice and counsel, if not with as much eloquence and knowledge, at least with as much good sense as any other. She would even serve the Republic as head of the army and would refuse to accept the Crown if this was forbidden her. She then restated her view of marriage as a humiliating yoke:

Dieu m'ayant fait naistre libre Je ne scaurois pas me resoudre a me donner un maistre, et, puisque Je suis née pour commander, le moyen que je puisse me resoudre a obbeiyr[sic] ny a me donner cet esclavage qui seroit le plus insupportable pour moy que mon imagination peut concevoir.²³

Christina further claimed that her lack of understanding of the Polish language did not distinguish her from the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Neubourg, or the Prince of Lorraine, who also sought the Crown. Her lack of money could only assure the Poles that she did not seek personal gain.²⁴ In return, Christina received more messages concerning the Poles' idea of making the electorship a hereditary Monarchy. With this prospect in mind, she instructed her agent to lie about her age, so that the possibility of marriage

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 213. Emil Daniels, *Preussische Jahrbüchern* 96:3, p. 61. Marie Delcourt, "Le complexe de Diane dans l'hagiographie Chrétienne" *Revue de l'histoire de religion* 153.

²¹ Louis André (1908), p. 214.

²² *Ibid.* p. 215.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 216.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 217.

would not be excluded. To bring out the virtue of her candidacy she then proceeded to describe the military defeats of her opponents. She pointed out that some candidates were too old or too avaricious, that some had too many children, that German candidates would not succeed "as the Poles hate that nation", that the Duke of Neubourg had partisan sympathy for "the original sins" of the Palatine house and the Germans, and that he would never gain assistance from the Swedes.²⁵ Neubourg's petition to the throne was in fact written by Leibniz, who tried to deduce "more geometrico" from the political situation that all other candidates, and in particular any "Piast", any Polish pretender, would fail to satisfy the particular requirements for the electorship.²⁶

Christina tried a less philosophic method. She pointed out that the French gave Neubourg support only in order to destroy him by his certain failure: if Neubourg became the front runner, it was likely that the Poles in horror would choose the Moscovite Czar Alexis Michailowitz.²⁷ In view of this Scylla and Charybdis scenario, the Prince of Condé was her only real opponent. Clearly his ancestry approached the quality of the house of Wasa and although avaricious, he had enormous wealth. But Condé's violent mind would throw Poland into disaster. He would revenge his failures with the French as evidenced by his "head full of vast ideas about the royal authority of France."²⁸ If Condé were chosen, he would insist on making the throne hereditary, which would be quite unfortunate as his son passed in France as a "très mal-honnête homme". (She meant his notorious homosexuality.)²⁹ To be a great King is not the same as being a great Soldier, and she adds that the whole of Europe was prepared to wage war on Condé's projects outside of France. The Pope was certainly opposed to Condé's exaltation. It was not the time for choosing a warlord, but rather for a Prince in love of Peace, who through her humanity and prudence can govern and direct the Republic in tranquillity . . .³⁰

Christina's solicitation was not enough to make her campaign gain any ground. While the Papal nuncio had an interest in gaining more control over Poland, he does not seem to have committed himself to Christina's candidacy. Aspirations of various kinds were apparent in the election, and Christina's agent in Danzig was quite serious when he mentioned that a prophecy about the throne was

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 219.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 220. See below n. 31.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 220.

²⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 221, 233 n. 4, Montpellier collection, vol. IV. f. 341.

³⁰ Louis André (1908), p. 221.

current. The prophecy may be the one Leibniz mentions in his political demonstration for the election, Hieronymus Spanocchius' *De Interregno Poloniae anni 1587 divinatio* (1610). Leibniz argues (with some handy lies about King Stephan Batory) that the prophecy shows that the war between Lithuania and Poland would reoccur as a civil war if a Pole were chosen. Civil war in times of Turkish incursion is the last thing the Poles should want.³¹

As it turned out, the Poles disregarded all foreign candidates and instead chose the Piast, Michael Wiesnoviesky. Christina was told that the Poles had finally decided that the "obstacle of her sex" was overwhelming, that the Poles resented her murder of Monaldescho and the fact that she herself had beaten up one of her servants. Christina's final reply was that if such acts were sufficient to exclude people from the Polish throne, the Poles would never find any real kings.³² Lesser people than herself have brought people to their own justice without public condemnation. But after a year of campaign correspondence, Christina had to recognize her defeat. She soon asked her Polish agent to send her the new King's place of birth and "l'élevation du pole", perhaps, as Arckenholtz suggests, to cast his horoscope.³³ Notwithstanding her arguments against the Prince of Condé, she then sent a condolence letter to Condé's agent to express her sorrow that the situation in Poland had let the blind injustice of Fortune so hazardously dispense the Crowns as it wished.³⁴

A most interesting aspect of the Polish candidacy is that it also was a way to gain influence in Naples. John Cassimir Wasa had decided to will the Polish inheritance of the principalities Bari and Rossano in southern Italy to Anna Gonzaga. With Edward of the Palatinate she was parent to Anna Henriette, a Palatine Princess married to the Prince of Condé. These parts of Naples thus would end up in the hands of le Duc D'Enghien.³⁵ Knowing the testament plans, Christina and Azzolino tried to get the will declared invalid. On March 1670, Christina sent the Polish prince-in-exile, a descendant of Wladislaus IV of Poland, Count Wasenau, to the St. Germain-de-Prés monastery in Paris where Johan Cassimir spent

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 229. G. W. Leibniz under pseudonym Georgius Ulicovius Lithuanus, *Specimen demonstrationum politicarum pro elegendo Rege Polonorum*. Vilna 1669. German transl. in Elida Maria Szarota. *Die Gelehrte Welt des 17 Jahrhunderts über Polen* 1972. pp. 349-364. esp. p. 353.

³² Louis André (1908), p. 240.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 242, Arckenholtz (1751), 27 July 1668.

³⁴ Louis André (1908), p. 242.

³⁵ Karl Mayr. *Pfaltz-Neuburg und das Königreich Neapel* 1939. p. 74, 146. If the Wasa house died out the principalities would fall to Poland.

his days after his abdication. Wasenau was instructed to get the principalities to fall instead to the Polish State. However, Wasenau failed to change Johan Cassimir's attitude.

In 1674, Wasenau was sent to Stockholm, but his information from the court was useless. Christina lost her temper with him and decided to stop paying him. She wrote long letters dwelling on his inadequacy and told Wasenau that the Maltese cross she had planned to get him would be far above his natural station. Considering his poverty, she thought Wasenau would be happy only if he retired to the monastery Monte Cassino. Christina then claimed that she was resigned to Providence and had understood that she herself was not chosen for such a retirement.³⁶

³⁶ Christina to Count Wasenau in Stockholm 1674, in Sven Stolpe (1980) p. 483.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

LEIBNIZ, MARANA, AND THE TURKISH MIRROR

In the Azzolino collection there is a curious letter from the Orient, dated 30 October, 1672. It is directed to Christina who after reading it put down her signature. It is written in code by Prior Seuin of the Capucin monks of Marbecce in Mesopotamia and Aleppo in Syria. Seuin writes that he: “avec beaucoup de peine a obtenu icy assurement son *indulgence plenixe*, a l'on dissent icy assurement. & monsr. prevost, si il est conduite de son bon ange, anéantira toute *la magie & et tous les magiciens*.¹ By using the key one can convert the meaning of “indulgence plenixe” to the philosophers’ stone. “La magie et les magiciens” translates to Turkey and the Turks. The letter is thus deciphered as saying that Seuin thinks that the Ottoman Empire is going to fall if he is given an instrumental role in the league formed by mr. le prevost, probably the Pope. Seuin thus claims that he—through alchemy—has achieved the necessary means to make a league possible, whether by monetary means or spiritual strength. The letter ends with a salute: “Amen. V. Ange.”

Europe’s preoccupation with the Moslim world grew in pace with the Turkish advances through Hungary towards Vienna. The Protestant reformers in the group around Dury and Comenius had long been convinced of the necessity of forming a program for converting the Jews and the Turks to Christianity, as an essential element in their millenarian scheme. But their efforts did not lead to their envisioned community of minds. Instead, the reality of the Turkish incursion drew attention away from general pacification. The awaited clash between the Ottomans and the west prompted Christina to write in her maxims: “Craindre le Turc n'est pas un terreur panique.”² Catholic unionism directed against the Turks was officially inaugurated by Pope Alexander VII in 1660, when he declared his intention of forming a league against the Ottomans. To Mazarin’s dismay, Christina had earlier tried to aid the scheme of general reconciliation by moving the former French Frondeur, Cardinal de Retz, closer to the Pope. The league now faltered

¹ Azzolino-collection 36, K 449. Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

² Arckenholtz (1751) vol. II. p. 71. Christina’s comment in her *Maxims*, “Centurion VIII”.

because France refused to cooperate. Achieving a union between the Christian princes was a very difficult goal, because the rivalry between France and the pro-Spanish parts of Italy had no natural resolution. Given her mediation attempts after the abdication and her Naples plan in 1657, Christina was acutely aware of the problem and believed that she could use her contacts for diplomacy. In 1663, she argued that a European military campaign must be sent to help Venice defend its trade in the Mediterranean and that driving the Turk out of Crete was the first step to be taken in defence of the Christian states.³ In 1667 in Hamburg, while planning her Polish candidacy, she gave Tasso's play on Godefrey de Bouillon's crusade *Jerusalem liberata* and asked the Swedish general Carl Gustaf Wrangel and the fieldmarshall Paul Wurtz to join a European military league.

In 1672, with the failed Polish candidacy fresh in her memory, Christina's European plans were further disappointed. She tried to use her influence with the Swedes but King Charles XI turned down the Pope's request that he should join the Poles against the Turks, who now were pressing forward through Hungary against Vienna. Christina no longer could influence political decisions, a fact she could not really accept. Her unionist ideas stem from an early date and she seems to have assigned herself a pivotal role as mediator, not only on the Franco-Spanish axis, but also in closing the rift with the North. In Marseille, on her way from Rome to fame in Paris 1656, in a spate of militant unionism, she had already chosen watchwords for her guard such as "St. Louis".⁴

Her militarist activity was in vogue. When Leibniz left Nürnberg for Frankfurt in 1667, he had met his patron Christian von Boineburg, who in 1645–47 was diplomat at the Swedish court and whose pro-Irenist plans influenced him to study political and juridical problems.⁵ Boineburg introduced Leibniz to several diplomats and together they tried to influence the Polish election in favour of Count Philipp von Neubourg.⁶ Besides writing juridical

³ G. d'Avenal, *Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin* 1656. 1892–93. *Cristina di Svezia mostra di Documenti Vaticani* 1966. p. 27 no. 67. Arne Losman, *Carl Gustav Wrangel och Europa* 1980.

⁴ P. Desfeuilles, "Le Voyage en France de Christine, reine de Suède, en 1656" *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 43, 1929.

⁵ Jean Baruzi, *Leibniz et L'Organisation Religieuse de la Terre*. Felix Alcan, Paris 1907. Rudolf W. Meyer, *Leibniz und die Europäische Ordnungskrise*. Joachim Heitmann. Hamburg 1948.

⁶ On Skytte see Fritz Arnheim (1911) above. In 1669 Leibniz wrote down notes for a "societas philadelphia" and in a letter to Henri Justel, he later recalls Skytte's project for a "Heliopolis".

tracts, Leibniz drew up defenses of the immortality of the Soul, he argued for Christ's divinity and for the Trinity, and he started to plan his project for a united European military campaign against the Ottomans.⁷

Four years later, now as emissaries of the elector at Mainz, Leibniz and Boineburg conferred with Louis XIV on the plan for a European union to attack Egypt. The capture of Cairo would cut the Mohammedans in two halves only a short distance from Jerusalem. Leibniz' *Concilium Aegyptiacum* (1671–72) allots a role to each and every state in Europe. The text in large part reads like an all European intelligence report, where even Christina's abdication and its political consequences are considered.⁸ Instead of ruining each other, Sweden and Poland ought to join forces to pressure the Tartars southward and eastward. France and Italy must work out their constant quarrels. Spain ought to expand to South America, England and Denmark to North America, the Dutch could divert their energies to Oriental India, France should expand to Northern Africa and its glorious, most Christian King Louis XIV ought to take the lead of the campaign against the Turks. Europe's internal dynamics thus would have a concerted outlet in regions beyond the Christian hemisphere and so minimize the occasion for self defeating internal competition. Leibniz' plan was retailored to meet the conditions of the Dutch-French war, but the French state secretary Pomponne dismissed the idea in correspondence with the remark that Holy Wars have not been in fashion since St. Louis.⁹ Louis XIV's and Colbert's mercantilist initiatives in the Orient were considered more important than a risky attack on the Ottoman Empire.

Leibniz' plan has been given different interpretations. An influential one is to see it as a sly effort to divert the French king from disturbing the German States while they worked out a truce at the Rhine in favour of the German Holy Roman Empire.¹⁰ Others have

⁷ On the millenarian impulse in Leibniz' early career see Jean Baruzi (1907).

⁸ *Ibid.* For an earlier statement Onno Klopp, *Leibniz Vorschlag einer Französischen Expedition nach Aegypten*. Hannover 1864.

⁹ Jean Baruzi (1907), p. 20n. That this statement was directed by State secretary Pomponne to the plans of the diplomat Feuquières (the former's successor as diplomat at Stockholm), and not directly to the similar plans of Leibniz or Boineburg is shown by Paul Wideberg, "Je ne vous dis rien sur les projets d'une Guerre Sainte, mais vous scaurez qu'elles ont cessé d'estre à la mode depuis Saint-Louis"—Eine Beitrag zur Wertung des *Concilium Aegyptiacum* Leibnizens" *Studia Leibnitiana Supplementa*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden GMBH, Stuttgart 1969, pp. 207–224.

¹⁰ Rudolf W. Meyer (1948), Jean Baruzi (1907).

pointed to its Imperialist and Fascist elements. Some have pointed out that Leibniz' later efforts to convert Czar Peter the Great to his expansionist ideas show that he had a genuine wish to establish contacts with the far east.¹¹ There has been some speculation that Leibniz' 1673 journey to London and the Royal Society shortly after his stay in Paris was a new move, with the intent of getting Charles II to oppose the expansionist plans of Louis XIV.¹² But historical research also suggests that Leibniz' Egyptian campaign originated in a Christian plan for a unified Catholic church and that he based his work on Baco's *De Bello Sacro* and Marino Sanuto's *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* (1321)—a work on the holy crusades that also can be found in Christina's manuscript collection.¹³ The plan thus could be a millenarian scheme, an attempt to set forces in motion that ultimately would result in a new religious organization of the European states. Leibniz' early theology with its emphasis on defending the Christian mysteries suggests that he is likely to have actually believed in the validity of an Imperial European State “toute Catholique” led by the most Christian King, Louis the Gaul. Although Christina never met Leibniz, their ideas are indicative of a common climate—and due to their political interests they were diplomatically involved in the peace negotiations between France, Holland, Sweden, and Poland at Nijmegen in 1678. Christina, through the Papal nuncio, laid claims on Bremen and Pommerania, while Leibniz held a secretarial role.¹⁴

In 1683, Jan Sobieski—a new Polish King—forced the Turks to retreat just outside of Vienna and Europe could at last sigh in relief at the reduction of the Turkish threat. Christina exchanged several letters with Sobieski, whom she now, like many others, regarded as one of Europe's greatest statesmen.¹⁵ For Leibniz, the war in Austria suggested a change in his pro-Gallic ideas and he feared

¹¹ Onno Klopp (1864), Rudolf W. Meyer (1948) pp. 201–223.

¹² Jean Baruzi (1907) pp. 106 ff.

¹³ Prantl's article on Leibniz in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* Leipzig 1883. Vol. 18 pp. 179–209. p. 178.

¹⁴ *Cristina di Svezia . . .* (1966), p. 27 no. 65. P. J. Rietbergen, “Papal Diplomacy and Mediation at the Peace of Nijmegen” *The Peace of Nijmegen 1676–1678/79* Tricentennial Colloquium, APA Holland Univ. Press, Amsterdam 1978, pp. 29–96. On Christina's claims, pp. 57–58.

¹⁵ Arckenholtz (1751) vol. iv, p. 67. A completed (and unaltered) manuscript of Christina's *Maxims* is held in the manuscript-collection at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. It contains several observations on the Turks and regards the victory at Vienna in 1683 as an intervention by God. It is unclear how the copy arrived in the library (where Leibniz served as librarian). How they relate to the (altered) *Maxims* held in the Royal Library at Stockholm and edited by Sven Stolpe in 1959, and to those in Montpellier, ought to be examined.

that Louis XIV would join the Turks against the German Empire.¹⁶ In a series of pamphlets, he discussed the right method of unifying the church, and arguing against Protestant criticism of the Habsburg emperors, he launched a project to end the controversies in religion. His activity follows the spirit (but not the scriptural millenarian method) of the pacification attempts of John Dury, in his old age residence at the house of Hesse-Kassel. In his theological system of 1684, Leibniz assumes the mask of a Catholic arguing against a Protestant, but in fact he defends the foundations of a natural religion that could unite them both. In 1688, with the Austrian-French war, Leibniz finally gives up on Louis XIV and writes the ironical statement *Vergleichung des Orientalischen und Occidentalischen Turcken*, in which the French King is presented as the new Grand Turk. By this time also his correspondent, the Cartesian critic Simon Foucher had worked out a play entitled *L'Empeur Leoncé*.¹⁷ Leibniz' new system of metaphysics probably derived some of its motivational force from the millenarian vision.

The Turkish Spy

In 1687, Christina in a personal letter lauds the talents of G. P. Marana, the Italian author of the European bestseller *L'Espion Turc* (1690). His book consists of a series of letters purportedly written in Paris by a Turkish spy, giving the author license to comment on European events and the peculiar sect of the Nazarenes, i.e., the Christians, from an uncensored Oriental vantage point. Marana had been imprisoned for his cooperation with a Pro-Gallic political conspiracy and the occasion for Christina's letter apparently was that he had again been in trouble as she deplores his recent misfortune.¹⁸ In a letter to the Aga of the Janissars, on the 14th of the 9th of Moon 1646, in Marana's first volume, the Spy reports on the curious Swedish woman: "She is perfected in seven *Languages*; well versed in Ancient and Modern *Philosophy*, and a complete *Historian*. . . . Many great *Matches* have been offered her, but she refuses all, either for *Reason of State*, or dislike of the Persons, or an aversion she has for *married* life; or through opposition of the Nobles, who seem to covet to be governed by a *Maiden Queen*." In the third volume however, in the year 1656, the spy reports from

¹⁶ ADB vol. 18. p. 184.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 187. For Simon Foucher's drama, see Richard A. Watson, *The Breakdown of Cartesian Metaphysics* 1987, Ch. 3, n. 32.

¹⁸ Arckenholtz (1721) Vol. III 1687.

Paris that "she has become an Idol to the French." The spy certainly speaks as if he had Christina's confidence. He claims that it was Christina's difficulties in finding a form for post-abdication life that had made her decide to leave the country. She would have stayed in Sweden if three conditions for her abdication could have been met: a) That she would be entitled to dispose of her revenues in whatever manner; b) That she would have liberty to travel and as a subject be regarded as entirely independent and free; and c) That no revocation would be made of her laws and donations. These conditions had, however, all been refused. Charles Gustavus had declared that Christina could in no manner use the title of Sovereign. He could not accept that his interests may be exposed at foreign courts. There would be no competition within his Kingdom and he refused to accept any measures that could restrict his will. On receiving this reply, Christina had understood that it was impossible to remain within the country.¹⁹

The background of Marana's work (he wrote six more volumes in the same style, although there are suggestions that these later volumes were written in London by English authors, and writers such as Daniel Defoe are mentioned), has so far eluded researchers. In the most comprehensive study, with a critical edition of the letters in Marana's own hand, Guido Almansi has argued that Marana may have written the work in its entirety. It is interesting that the ironic criticism of the Nazarenes, and their comparison with the Mohammedans and the Hebrews, is resolved by the Turkish spy's conversion to Quietism. The problem of authorship poses the question of whether the Quietist end was a planned resolution from the beginning or if it was merely a later natural outcome considering the conditions in Rome. Marana's relation to Christina could show that he was influenced by the Quietist reformers in Rome. The spy's Quietist leanings thus may indicate that internalist mysticism indeed was attractive to some of the most reflective political critics of the time.

Almansi shows that Marana's forty-third letter, from the spy to Bekir Bassa on the customs of the Hebrews, is a verbatim copy of Michel Febure's *Specchio overo Descrittione della Turchia* dedicated to "la Sacra Real Maesta di Cristina Alessandra, Regina di Suetia" in 1674.²⁰ Febure presents the *Specchio* as a theatre of the disorders

¹⁹ G. P. Marana, *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy*. 8 vols. London (1691). vol. I, the 23rd of the 6th Moon 1647, 14th of the 9th Moon 1646. vol. III, Letter xxix, xi. See the discussion in C. J. Betts, *Early Deism in France* 1984. pp. 97–114.

²⁰ Guido Almansi, "L'Esploratore Turco Di Giovanni Marana" *Studi Secenteschi* 1972, pp. 327–328. n. 619.

of Turkey in which he displays the truth of the Empire's weakness and ruin, in order to convince Europe that a union of Christian Princes can bring the Ottomans to defeat. Febure describes how the Islamic religion is a melange of Christian and Jewish beliefs and practices, how it was established, and how it is maintained. Febure is careful to note that the Mohammedans honor Christ as a great prophet, how they worship Mary, but how they like the heretics Arian and Nestor reject the Trinity. Mohammed's political move of claiming inspiration from the archangel is denounced, and a history of the spread of Islam is followed by detailed descriptions of the many religious factions within Turkey. Given the dissension, Febure describes how most Turks superstitiously believe that the Pope of Rome is immortal, but that in conversation they envy the Christians who have a Universal pastor as judge and determiner of the truth among heresies and fantasy.

The confusion of the Ottoman policies shows that they generate uncertainties in promises and pacts, that they value women and money higher than religion, that the Harem, the Seraglio, the Caravan, and other institutions promote the interests of blood and nature over that of governing. But these social disorders also create a potential ruin to their realm from the jealousy of the women, from the intrigues of eunuchs, from the Arab's hatred for the Turks, and from a great weakness at sea. The customs of the Arabs, the Kurds, the Druze, the Iezi, the Hebrews, and the Greek Orthodox Armenians are then described in their variety. What makes the Ottomans persist in this variety is their politics of division, the displacement of peoples, the frequent change of ministers, their Christian slaves and their system of punishments.²¹

The Hebrews' expectation of an Anti-Christ Messiah has induced a discussion between Febure and a Jew on the nature of the Saviour. Febure relates the story of the great impostor "Sabbatai Levi", the son of Mordechai who worked with English merchants in Smyrna, and who in 1654 was hailed by a young girl with visions from an angel whose staff marked him out as sent from God. When Nathan Benjamin of Gaza, against Sabbatai's will prophesized that Sabbatai was the Messiah, then the Hebrews started to believe that the promised one had come. But in 1666, when Sabbatai went to the Sultan in order to proclaim that he, Sabbatai, was the universal monarch, to the great astonishment of his followers he chose to convert to Islam. Febure claims he was almost able to

²¹ Michel Febure, *Theatre des desordres de la Turquie . . . en faisant voir la ruine & les desordres de son Empire*. French transl. Paris 1675.

convert one Turkish Jew, who, confused and displeased over Sabbatai's apostasy, had conceded that some of the Old Testament prophecies spoke of a son of God, and who seemed to accept his views on Christ's Divinity, death, and passion. He then ponders: Why does not the Jew realize that the Messiah has already come? Does not the case of Sabbatai show that the Hebrew religion holds no promise? The Hebrews will have to wait forever in vain if they do not concede to the truth of the New Testament.²²

Febure's treatment of the Ottoman Empire bears all the marks of a Catholic statement and it is clear that the book was written to incite the Christians to resist and overturn the Turkish incursion. But the interesting reports on the customs of a far and distant land, with descriptions of several alternative religions, seem to have inspired Marana in his *Turkish Spy* to turn the argument on its head. Christina's note to him in 1687 may indicate that she contributed morally or financially also to Marana's much more controversial piece of early enlightenment irony and criticism of narrow religious views.

Christina's late *Maxims* show traces of her interest in European unification in defence against the Ottomans, but she seems to have lost faith in the possibility of carrying it through:

Il y a dans nostre Ciecle une terreur panique si universelle, repandue dans le monde que ce cela fait [presque] iuger que l'univers attent un Maistre, mais ie ne voy nul des viuant capable de l'estre, si lon ny destine le gran Turque.²³

She also writes that while the Ottoman empire has tried for four hundred years to achieve the universal monarchy, and although panic is wide spread, they have not succeeded. And in spite of Febure's diatribe on Turkish disorders, Christina claimed that while these invaders wants obedience and tribute from their subjects, they do not constrain their consciousness. Their politics is not vicious, but is violent. Apart from this fault they have good traits, for instance in gambling with cards where they play for the sake of the game rather than for money, and that in particular "l'abstinence de vin est un grande politique des Turcs."²⁴ It is almost a miracle, she continued, that Europe has not been conquered by the most powerful ruler of the world [the Sultan]. But finally, Christina concluded that the great men to achieve world

²² *Ibid.* Article VII, pp. 385-400.

²³ Addition to entry no. 408, p. 119 in Sven Stolpe ed., *Les Sentiments heroiques* 1959.

²⁴ Arckenholtz (1751) Centure IX no. 87 p. 38.

leadership, such as Caesar, Cyrus, and Alexander, all possessed heroic qualities to the outmost degree, yet they would not achieve their end in our century since the world has changed. After the year 1670 of this century, Christina then added, the world is no longer in need of such great talents: one can create a European unity without them.²⁵

I think it is plausible to see that Christina's opinions on the transformation of the world (so exactly set in the year 1670) did not so much depend on the exposure of the cruelties of Louis XIV, as that they were conditioned by the millenarian assumptions preached by Antonio Vieira, endorsed by John Dury, and applied by Leibniz. If this is granted, one is not puzzled by her comment in correspondence with Cardinal Azzolino in 1667 that "all the fruits of 66" have come to nothing, "if not the eruption of Cossacks and Tartars directed by the Turks in Poland, will produce new events fatal to Christianity."²⁶ While perhaps too sweeping and academic, to thinkers faced with the expanding political and economic universe, the millenarian future often seemed to be the only solution to the grave paradox of religious division.

²⁵ Sven Stolpe (1959) nos. 409–411, p. 120.

²⁶ Carl Bildt, *Christine de Suède et le Cardinal Azzolino* 1899. p. 299.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE ROMAN ACADEMIES: PROVIDENTIALISM AND SCIENCE

The confident refutation of Pyrrhonism in 1656, with such a direct appeal to a tradition of intuitive light and inspiration, may have been a factor in the intellectual decline and scientific stasis found in the Catholic world towards the end of the century. At the recent tricentennial conference—*Opus Niger*—on the sciences and scientists in Queen Christina's Rome, there were attempts to explain the insular activity in Christina's academies by identifying institutional shortcomings. In Salvatore Rotta's judgment, the contribution of Christina's Academies was on the whole not the advance of science but instead the prevention a total hegemony of the Jesuit academy at the *Collegio Romano*. After the failure of Christina's Polish campaign in 1668, her lot was to stay permanently in Rome. (Meanwhile, she made every effort to get a hold on Johan Cassimir's principalities in Naples.) By 1677, Giovanni Ciampini had no difficulty in getting Christina to be the patron of his new establishment of the *Accademia dell' esperienza Fisico-Matematico*. Christina hosted them in the lower gallery of her palace rooms in her Palazzo Riario and made an important donation of scientific instruments, microscopes and an observatory. She had supported Cassini's study of the comets of 1665–66. Vitale Giordani had given lectures on mathematics in her palace in 1665; now Stefano Gradi presented evidence of how the ancients calculated the longitudes at sea. Like Cassini and Hevelius, Francesco Bianchini responded to her prize for the one who could calculate the path of the comet of 1680, and referred to measurements by her academy on the comet of 1684 in an exchange with Johan Flamsteed at Greenwich.¹

After the opening twenty five weekly sessions of the academy at Pallazzo Riario the group had moved to Ciampini's private home, where meetings continued for another twenty years, first weekly, later monthly. The methods were Galilean in that one tried to prove or falsify proposed mechanical hypothesis. Copernicus' theories were considered, as well as the systems of Galileo, Gassendi, Descartes, and Paracelsus. The lack of a leading scientific personality produced

¹ Gianfranco Redavid ed. *Opus Niger—gli scienziati alla corte Romana di Cristina di Svezia*. Rome 1989 Forthcoming.

repetitious work, however, and there was no controlling effort to guide and prune the direction of the experiments. But, Bianchini took control of the events in 1685 and Newtonianism began to be absorbed in Italy. The advanced figures involved were mostly non-Roman scientists, such as the Calabrian Cartesian Alfonso Borelli, who worked out a mechanical biology *De Motu Animalium* (1681) and Marcello Malpighi from Bologna, who dedicated to the Queen his studies on membranes and embryology in the fauna of the straits of Bosphorus.²

Yet, one has to consider that most of the participants were amateurs, cardinals, and dilettants. Science digressed, it is claimed, into a diversionary game rather than being a systematizing effort. This impression may be due partly to the fact that the results of the investigations were published anonymously as collective statements of the group. There were limits to scientific discussion in Rome and self-censorship was an institution, so the anonymous group-publication was perhaps a calculated move. As an important convert and northern star, the Swedish Queen by her royal promotion could confer prestige to the group, giving it an international status independent of the role or beliefs of any one particular member. Thus, in a time paralyzed by the the unfortunate condemnation of Copernicanism, Queen Christina's example had at least the merit of showing the citizens of Rome that science and faith can be reconciled.³

At the same time, one cannot ignore the fact that Christina's own library contained Bourdelot's collection of natural philosophy, with works by Pomponazzi, Campanella, Zabarella, and Copernicus and that this was kept in the dark for most of her acquaintances. Christina continued to correspond with Bourdelot, and got news on Vossius' new interpretation of the World Soul, but their libertine influence probably weakened over the years as Christina increasingly was impressed by the argument that the universal tradition of Hellenistic philosophy was carried on by Catholic experience. Even so, it may have been a novelty in Rome when she entertained such topics as whether the fatalistic doctrine of the Stoics is more destructive to the Catholic faith than Epicureanism.

In 1685, the ethos of her academy, that now was in the habit of calling itself an "Accademia Regia", was explained by Giovanni

² Cesare D'Onofrio, *Rom val bene un'Abiura* 1976. pp. 263 ff. Arckenholtz (1751) vol. II p. 137 ff.

³ Maurizio Torrino in *Opus Niger* 1989 drawing upon the recent documents in Andre Robinet, *G. W. Leibniz Iter Italicum* 1988. pp. 176 ff.

Milani, in his canzone *La Luce*, dedicated to “La Sacra Real Maestà, Regina Cristina di Svezia”. In the preface, he declares his aim to present the philosophy of Democritus with moderation, “alla menta christiana”. The difficulties of reconciling spirit with the “primi semi” of material philosophy are recognized, but Milani clearly states that the operations of nature takes the “via mecanica”. Hence, Galileo, Borelli, and Malpighi are heroes of his piece which, however, begins with an appeal to Empedocles. Since ancient times, Empedocles have taught that the principles of motion are internal to living beings, that they impregnate and control the mind. Milani great emphasis is that *heat* and *light* are required to engender mechanical action: “Gli atomi fra di lor, d'allor la Luce/Dia il morte al tutto e d'ogni moto e Duce.” His atomistic verses also Hermetically claim that this governing is a Providence equal to Apollo’s mystery “che amor, che genio e simpatia l’appella/ e d'a credul anco farza di stella”.

In Christina’s papers at Montpellier (deposited there by a Napoleonic officer who robbed them from the Vatican in 1796) the discussions of neo-Platonism come to further light, matching the Farnese atmosphere of High-Renaissance Eros designs.⁴ The question in 1656 was the one directed to Descartes, namely: love, what it is, when to recognize it, and how to determine its meaning. The theory is that there are only two passions, love and its opposite. Passions are born and die with us and one cannot root them out of the soul. Love is the true spring of nature, disguised in different forms; thus, ambition and avarice are nothing but love. Christina suggested that her academy would discuss whether a Platonic notion of participation should be used in asserting that the true object of the soul is God. The image of being in love in this world, however, is [the relation between?] man and woman, and that is properly what love is. Love increases love and purifies the Soul. Few people know it. The conclusion is exclusive: the vulgar take love to be sensuality and debauchery—but nothing is more different. One can love without jealousy, but never without fear.

Christina also has recorded an hypothesis on immortality: the soul must be eternal because it can imagine that it is solely capable of satisfying the immensity of our desire. The statement tries to capture how neither reason nor doctrine can adequately represent the transcendent quality given in imaginations of the afterlife, but without sceptical suspense it also fideistically adds the hope that this perception must correspond to a reality. This is the mystical

⁴ Montpellier Collection: Accademia Clementina; 20–35, 52, 56.

leap. Again one can note the absence of Christ, the standard Catholic symbolic medium for the love through which God reveals himself to the world. Possibly, her views are closer to the rendering of love in the *Song of Songs*, the scriptural text she earlier had declared acceptable.

Her personal perspective on these themes can be gained from her much later marginal notes to Stefano Pignatello's *La Bellezza d'Anima e la Bellezza di Corpore* (1674) where the author comments on various philosophers' views of felicity. Pignatello (unaffected by Descartes' ideas on the topic) discusses why lovers cannot separate the beauty of the body from the beauty of the soul. The problem is that lovers think they love the other's body, when they in fact love the other's mind, or vice versa.⁵ To overcome this trouble one should learn from philosophers and poets who study love in its unity and variety. Pignatello claims that the felicity described by Protagoras can be found in no place on earth, while Zeno's felicity would derive entirely from knowledge. Epicurus, on the other hand, thought that lovers derive their joy entirely from sensuality. Christina, perhaps influenced by Gassendi, here comments "Non e vero."

Pignatello writes that the materialist philosophers think that truth on earth can be found in the immense spaces of the pleasurable. Christina seems to agree with their view in adding "non tanto, non tanto materiale".⁶ To Pignatello's lines: Felicity is the object of love, but love is not an infallible judge, Christina writes "E Vero." To the quoted lines of Tasso that felicity is a silent rhetoric, a silent joy, Christina adds "Bello." Pignatello's insights favour Aristotle's view that virtue, a force belonging to the *animo* *victorioso*, constitutes *la bellezza d'animo*. Felicity is the sun that dispels the clouds and one should know that "bellezza terrena e un raggio della bellezza divina." Similar ideas on inspiration can be found in another format, Christina's dialogue-drama in verse on Love, Time, and Fate—her *Endymion*.⁷

Christina's later academies were increasingly ideological. In November 1674, a sequence of sessions were held in the presence of twenty-two cardinals aligned to her friend Cardinal Azzolino. The impression made is that these meetings were part of Christina's quest to help Azzolino keep a high political profile in the Vatican.⁸

⁵ Stefano Pignatelli, *La Bellezza di Anima et la Bellezza di Corpore*. Torino 1674. The copy with Christina's marginal notes is in the British Library. p. 26, 27.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 31, 34.

⁷ Sven Stolpe, "Kristina-Studier" *Credo* 1959.

⁸ Proceedings in 1674, Bibl. Apost. Vat. Ottoboni Ms. lat. 1744. Also Ottob. lat. 2140.

Christina took advice by astrologers and there are manuscripts in her hand in which she claims to have powers of divination. Nonetheless, it was now argued that judicial astrology destroys the work of Christ in making us neglect the predictive powers of the prophets; in the end it will make us drop all serious study and to disbelieve in worldly institutions.⁹ Astrology simply is fatalism and as such destructive of morality. While the important Chaldean theorists that constructed the Zodiac were enumerated, it was argued that also the biblical prophets knew the influence of the new stars. Yet, it was agreed that many of the astrological claims are repugnant to Aristotelianism, especially in their replacement of the celestial intelligences governing the spheres with the more manipulable zodiacal pattern.¹⁰

A background of repression may have made these debates more important for the participants than one can discern by a mere reading of the documents. In the academy statutes of 1656, Christina established a secret academy where participants were to "refine and perfect" the topics without written records. (The "secretis Academiae tuae" is also mentioned by Stefano Gradi in 1678.) The relative importance of what was said in the debate on such classical puzzles as, what is worse?—the laughter of Democritos or the weeping of Heraclitos?—emerges first when one realizes that the defence of Heraclitos' tears was argued for by the Portuguese millenarian Antonio Vieira. Vieira's life long struggle against the Inquisition of Spain must have given the debate a far deeper meaning than the title conveys.¹¹ That there however was something conventional and ritualistic about the sessions can be seen in another debate concerning the almost standard question: which philosophy is superior: Aristotelianism or Platonism? In her own *Maxims*, Christina recorded how bland these disputations had become. Her answer to the problem is the short and pedestrian: "Plato was too visionary and Aristotle too materialistic."¹²

She instead developed her preference for atomism by taking interest in the work of the Napolitanian atomist Leonardo di Capua. In 1683, she received a print of his treatise on volcanic

⁹ Ottob. lat. 1744. f.115.

¹⁰ Ottob. lat. 1744. f.140. Also Barb. lat. 4059, Discorzo Academico sulla sublimita e charezza della dottrina di Aristote, detto alla Maesta della Regina di Svezia.

¹¹ E. Carel, *Vieira* 1879. pp. 342–362. esp. p. 347 ff. Vieira's oration on the tears of Heraclitos was circulated. Copies are found in the British Museum holdings of Portuguesica.

¹² *Maxim* no. 158, Montpellier collection.

emissions—the mofette material—which included a dedicatory epistle that gave praise to Christina for her patronage in spreading through Europe the new philosophical ideas of Naudé, Gassendi, and the Cartesian mechanist Alfonso Borelli. It is significant that Di Capua's circle of libertine philosophers in Naples developed historical analyses of classical atomism in order to underpin their very outspoken anti-clericalism. In 1686, the travelling Bishop Gilbert Burnet described this libertine group in Naples by saying that in Giuseppe Valleta's library there gathered a group of philosophanti who was regarded by the clerics as "atheists and the spawn of Pomponatius school."¹³

While it seems clear that the documentation of ancient conditions progressed in the eternal city under Christina's patronage, the conflicts of modern experience were given less attention. But sitting as she did, in a great library full of classical and medieval learning that could contribute to the understanding of the roots of civilization, this choice is understandable. In 1687, Gilbert Burnet could report that the Swedish Queen was chief among the antiquities in Rome. Yet, he recalled with amusement that Christina had said to him: "One cannot not doubt that the Catholic Church is the object of a particular care by Divine providence, since among the four Popes I have known there has not been one with common sense."¹⁴

Christina Alexandra as "Basilissa" of the Arcadia

A frequent argument has been that a major fault with Catholic scientists was their reliance on an emblematic theory of experience. Particularly evident in the works by scientists of the Jesuit order, this theory molded their view of natural experiments as part of an emblematic, or semiotic, science whose task was to record the God-given expression of harmony in nature. Athanasius Kircher, in his excavations in geology and his history of monuments and of gems and their marks, produced fascinating compendia of divine imprints, such as his widely circulated *Mundus Subterraneus*, but the aim of his work was to assert that his findings were signs of God's

¹³ On di Capua's circle see, Salvo Mastellione, *Pensiero politico e vita culturale a Napoli* 1965. p. 89, 186, 195.

¹⁴ Gilbert Burnet, *Voyage de Suisse, d'Italie et de quelques endroits d'Allemagne et de France . . .* Amsterdam 1687. Perhaps the circle heard the [satirical?] madrigal to the Swedish Queen by Guillaume van Exarde, 8 April 1675: Nul de tous les mortels ne la pas igaler/ le maistre de neuf soeurs ne scroit pas son maître/ pour faire des captifs elle n'a qu'a paroître/ et pour faire du vers elle n'a qua à parler." Napoli UB. Ms. G 14451, f.5. in Ms. E 406, Uppsala UB.

great work as recorded in Genesis. Christina's interest in science was more directed to experiment but she complied with the Jesuit view—as exhibited by her interest in emblems and signs in Stockholm. Her scientific world could serve as an illustration of Michel Foucault's thesis on a pre-modern "episteme", whose task was an emblematic attempt of archival "mimesis" in order to complete an historically structured taxonomy, archeological in form.¹⁵

Christina not only gave encouragement and space to scientists, she also served as protectress of them at a time when this was needed. From having been progressive, but nationalist and power-promoting, her academies ended as instruments for perpetuating a certain well defined model of disputation, controlled to fall within the bounds of the church. However, that Christina the Catholic was interested in a mixture of libertinism and Hermeticism, atomism and vitalism, together with the many signs of an Arcadian format in her academies, raises questions on the function of the classical fashion in learning. In a transition period that endured well into the eighteenth century, Christina's royal patronage was thought an essential structural feature of a happy academy in Rome. It thus was as a necessary foundational symbol that Queen Christina was chosen "Basilissa" for Ciampino's physico-experimental academy after her death in 1689. This emblematic role was also transferred to Crescembini's "hut of shepherds", the home of Italian poetry—the long living *Accademia d'Arcadia*. The Hermetic teachings on a succession of lights required leading personalities that could serve as focal points in announcements of the meetings and sanction reports on the proceedings. In a majestic Platonic image, Christina was described as having stepped down the Divine ladder to this age, in order to confer on it her name.

To further shroud the meetings in mystery the participants used fictional names and lots were drawn to decide on whom should perform. It meant, however, that a group of serious people tended to dwell on neo-Platonic answers to questions such as "why some countries are in fruitful flowering, while others remain as barren nations?", or "why poetic fury is easier to achieve during night time than in daylight?" Or even on "whether love is more durable and efficacious when it is born by improvisation or when it is brought

¹⁵ William B. Ashworth, "Catholicism and Early Modern Science" in David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers, eds. *God and Nature—Historical Essays on the Encounter between Christianity and Science*, pp. 136–166. Univ. of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1986. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things—An Archeology Human Sciences*. New York 1977.

forth in conversation?"¹⁶ The fixation on the notions of creativity and illumination explains why the design of the academies tried to invoke ancient conditions that were thought to encapsule and enhance them.

In Christina's circle the archeological trend was not questioned. Ezekiel Spanheim wrote a celebrated history of coins, her artistic consultant Pietro Bellori recorded ancient architecture, Pietro Bartoli prepared a two-volume exposition of Christina's classical gems and symbols.¹⁷ The work, *Museum Odelaschum sive Thesaurus Antiquarum Gemmarum* (1751–52), bears the name of Azzolino's nephew (and Christina's heir) and is one of the earliest attempts at a rigorous archeology of religion. Bartoli promises to shed light on the entire area of the ancient's Gods and Goddesses, their Idols, their gems and anaglyphs, and their monuments.¹⁸ The first section classifies the stones and crystals used in the display. Christina's collection begins with three ancient Godheads: Apollo, "Reginae Coelestis" Astarte, and the peculiar Isis Averunca.¹⁹ The second volume displays heroes from the court of Alexander and Olympias, beginning with Apollo, indicating the primacy of the Hermetic myth on a herald from the Sun, followed by Hellenistic Gods and Goddesses. Egyptian idols appear, including three Isis images with the dictum "Ego Aegypti Reginae, ego Isis frugum inventrix." A "Taurus Coelestis", derived in a series from Apis of Memphis, is appended by the companion of Isis and Osiris—the dogheaded Mercurius Cynocaephalus.²⁰

To illuminate the gems, Bartoli refers the reader to Kircher's treatise on Egyptian obelisks and its view of the Hermetic-Egyptian origins of the Greek myths. Finally, Bartoli provides the missing Hermetic-Christian link by showing two Gnostic amulets. Impressively inscribed "Abraxas", one of them is given a Gnostic explanation: "Basilides esse dicit summum deum, nomine Abraxam, a quo mentem creatam, quam Graeci [nous] appellabant. Inde verbum; ex illo Providentia; ex Providentia Virtutem, & Sapientiam, ex ipsis deinde Principatus, & Potestatis & Angelos factos; ab istis Angelos trecentos sexaginta quimque caelos institutos." And indeed, the amulet indicates three angels: Michael, Jao, Adonai.

¹⁶ Ruth Stephan, "A Note on Christina and her Academies" in Magnus Von Platen, *Queen Christina of Sweden—Documents and Studies*. 1966. 365–372.

¹⁷ Pietro Bartoli, *Museum Odelaschum sive Thesaurus antiquarum Gemmarum*. Rome 1751–52.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Title page.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* vol. I. *passim*.

²⁰ *Ibid.* vol. II. *passim*.

Indeed, the Holy name computes the number of the heavenly spheres: A-1, B-2, P-100, A-1, X-60, A-1, S-200 = 365.²¹

Bartoli's authority, Athanasius Kircher, was Rome's champion of archeology, with his works on Egypt and China, and his careful reconstructions of the Tower of Babel and Noah's Ark. He dominated the scene at the *Collegium Romanum* where his *Museum Kircheriana* was stuffed with obelisks, crocodiles, globes, and unclassified fossils and bones. In 1657, he showed Christina his vegetable palingenesis; an atrophied plant grown in the dark and thus without chlorophyll, but claimed to be grown out of ashes and proving the theory of resurrection. She reciprocated by giving him a horn of the unicorn, actually a walrus bone from the Northern Sea.²²

Certitude, Archeology, and Monumentalism

Limited by the constraints of trying to confirm the story of Genesis, the activities in Christina's circle extended a narrowing route through natural science, but provided widening perspectives on the esthetics of Baroque society. In 1671, the very young Austrian architect Fischer von Erlach joined the circle. He was to become the creator of the Hofburg and the Imperial Library at Vienna, and of churches and funerary high Baroque in Salzburg and throughout the Holy Roman Empire. He was inspired by the archeological trend of Kircher, Bartoli, and Bellori, and through Christina's mediation met Bernini and other artists. Erlach's archeology of monumental structures, his *Entwurff einer Geschichte der Architectur* (1705–1721) acknowledges this debt by specifically recording two Egyptian Porphyry vases copied from originals in Christina's chambers. Fischer von Erlach draws upon Bellori's ideas in representing the palace at Nineveh and the court of Trajan. But his sequence begins with the Temple of Solomon and the Egyptian pyramids, and goes over Stonehenge to record the Hagia Sophia and ends with an overwrought imperial Schonbrunn.²³ Other artists with constructive eyes, such as the Swedish architect, Nicodemus Tessin, also found room in Christina's circle. His record of the artistic designs of her Riario home shows that Christina projected several

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 75.

²² Arckenholtz (1751) vol. I p. 501. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall, *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg* 1965. Vol. I. p. 326 n. 3.

²³ *Johan Bernard Fischer von Erlach—Ausstellung*. Graz, Wien, Salzburg 1956–57. pp. 10–11, pp. 205–210, 230.

expansions including a theatre, and a cabinet for her gems, but of these only the hall of the muses, with Apollo in a presiding role, was ever completed.²⁴ Erik Dahlberg, whose *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* records Swedish architectural designs imaginatively enough to outdo those of France, relates (shortly before claiming that he originated the idea that Charles X Gustavus should risk crossing the ice on the Danish straits) how on his Oriental journey in 1656 Christina took him on a trip through Rome's catacombs showing him the skulls of Peter and Paul—an impressionable memory for the young engraver on his way to Jerusalem.²⁵

Siegbert Havercamp put on record her huge holdings of ancient coins, in his *Nummophylacium reginae Christinae* (1734), at the time of its acquisition by Prince Eugene de Savoy. But long before that, Christina herself started to work on her idea for a *Histoire Metal-liques*, a description of 118 commemorative coins, recording major events of her life and displaying her attitude at each stage of development.²⁶ Although the majority of these coins were never cast, the manuscript is reproduced in Carl Bildt's 1908 study of Christina's minting designs. Coins actually cast of the projected display amount to only eight pieces—but they are no less interesting. The most frequently minted is the coin the Queen gave away, the one with a Sun on its back and her portrait variously fashioned for the frontispieces. The text: "Nec Falso, Nec Alieno"—with neither false, nor borrowed [light].²⁷ Another frequent Christina print has a picture of the globe inscribed "Non Sufficit" and a starry heaven inscribed "Sufficit". Bildt points out that her contemporaries recognized it as a reference to the Alexander-Diogenes debate. Bildt shows that the constellation of seven stars also can be seen in the Azzolino weapon.²⁸ In 1659, Christina minted a coin with her portrait as Minerva, with a sphinx-like lion on her helmet, faced with a phoenix rising from its ashes towards the light of the sun. The text, "Makelos" written in Greek, was given as a puzzle for scholars to explain. Athanasius Kircher tried, but failed. The word is Swedish and puns on a double meaning similar to the English "pairless/peerless", but conveying Christina's self description: "unmarried/incomparable".²⁹

²⁴ *Christina—en Europeisk kultur personlighet* 1966. Item 741.

²⁵ Sven Ingmar Olofsson, *Efter Westfaliska Freden* Uppsala 1957.

²⁶ Carl Bildt, *Les Medailles romaines de la reine Christine de Suede* 1908. esp. pp. 137–146.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 55 ff.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 65 ff. p. 66 n. 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 45 ff. Arckenholtz (1751), vol. II p. 85n, 150.

The *Histoire Metallique* is written in Christina's late and reconciliatory period. After her censorship of Picques' memoirs in Paris 1675, she made an offer to Isaac Vossius that he write her biography by using her notes. Vossius did not respond. Her self-serving attempt to codify her glory shows Christina as she wanted to see herself.³⁰ There are several scenes from her youth, illustrated, for example, by two centaurs inscribed "Educatio Fortis et Felix" and "Disce Virtutem". An Amazon on a horse battling a tiger accompanies the text: "Exercitia Reginae." Then follows the "Makelos" mint and another actually printed series illustrated by a celestial Lion with Fortune expressed as a capricorn and the text "Fortis et Felix". A series of coins particularizes the early claim of the coin with a crown stating "Avitam et Auctam", i.e., inherited and extended: maritime alliances, trade pacts, and military achievements; particularly boastful is a coin for the 1648 invasion of Poland claiming: "Pax Oblata Non Accepta Polonis. Erit Poenitentia Tarda."³¹

The abdication appears as a single crown, stamped with the text "Et Sine Te". After describing the journey to Rome and Paris, the history picks up the theme of the liberal arts with a coin of Mount Parnassus and the text "Dulces Ante Omnia." We see Christina relaxing on an olive branch under the reminder "Duxit in Solitudem". Another image records Christina's growing interest in the spiritual restoration of the world, perhaps by Quietist mysticism: a female nymph, a "Victoria Mundi" inscribed "Manna Absconditum". Towards the end of the series, recording events after 1675, there are two actual prints: a globe inscribed "Ne mi Bisogna Ne mi Basta"—neither necessary, nor sufficient—(noticed also by Leibniz in his *Theodicée*) and a labyrinth "Fata Viam Invenient" (actually minted shortly after the abdication).³² A coin with a crown formed by stars and the text "Fideles Est Deus" ends the series. Bildt explains that each of the coins would carry a G. D. (Gloria Deo) at the bottom, in the same way as the ancient emperors had set out an S. C. (Senatus Consultum). Finishing off there is a confidently appended signature: "She is as God wants her and she will be as God will want her."³³

As this magnificent project never was completed, we are left with

³⁰ Carl Bildt (1908) p. 138.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 142.

³² *Ibid.* p. 144.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 145. Christina seems to have regarded her reign as transcending her father's legacy in the spiritual realm. But note how this is depicted as a restitution of glory rather than a revolt in the coin "A socio Derelicta a Deo Restituta Svetia"; a hand reaches from a cloud to help raise Minerva from the ground. p. 121.

only a small number of actual coins. Some of these, perhaps more in character than those of the *Histoire Metallique*, celebrate Christina's independence, such as the Pegasus prepared to make her leap from the mountain peak, or the Goddess leading four ferocious lions at her hand, with the texts: "Solus et Confidenter" and "Nec Sinit Esse Feros."³⁴ Christina's maturing psychology and complex situation finally comes to light in her image of a triumphing Mars, symbolizing Rome, under the text: "Hic Amor Haec Patria Est."³⁵

Christina's self serving *Histoire Metallique* stands in a close relationship to her assurance that Cardinal Azzolino ought to exercise a leading influence over the Vatican. Cardinal Azzolino also had a coin—an eagle in flight towards the Sun inscribed "Imperium A Sole."³⁶ But there was more than romanticism in this project. Their relationship (a sort of love affair) was based on shared ecclesiastical presuppositions. They dabbled in alchemy and mysticism, and were often regarded as a political unit. Thus in 1666, Father Nicholas Zucchi, preacher at the chapel of Gesù in Rome, virulently lashed out against Christina, the "falsa profetissa" and her "scandalosi ministri"—the Cardinal and his friends.³⁷ The "squadron volante" group pursued a policy of non-alignment with either Spain or France and like Christina they held that real temporal power could be situated in the Vatican. Her natural tie to Azzolino was never officially claimed and perhaps therefore the coin "Mi nihil in Terris," with a paradise bird in flight over the earth, also appeared with her assured claim: "Libero i naqui e vissi e morro sciolto"—I was born, I lived, and I die in freedom.³⁸ But not even her death ended her public role in the Vatican. At the turn of the century, M. Capellarius' book-long hymn *Christinais sive Christina Lustrata* (1700) was endorsed by the Inquisition to depict in verse Christina as a sanctified convert, who, clad in helmet and arms, is drawn from the battle ground towards the heavens.³⁹ While a canonisation attempt would have been doomed to endless controversy, the Vatican thus in the end was able to use the power of its institutions and the outlines of the ex-Queen's life to remind the world of the triumph of the Church over heresy.

³⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 87, 121.

³⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 91–95.

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 130 ff.

³⁷ Curt Weibull, "Drottning Kristinas tronavägelse och trosskifte" *Scandia* 28 1962, pp. 196–326. p. 311–312 n. 3. The letter of Azzolino to Christina 1666 in Carl Bildt (1899) pp. 225–226.

³⁸ Carl Bildt (1908) p. 69 ff.

³⁹ The apologetic intent of the work is evident in Cappellarius' frequent allusions to Christina as the daughter of (the Protestant) Gustavus Adolphus.

PART V

CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD SOUL PHILOSOPHY

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

ALCHEMY, THE WORLD SOUL, AND THE HERETICS OF ROME

“ . . . et sicut lumen est intellectus agens.”
La Bugia, Rome 1660.

In 1661, Alexander VII branded the rise of Hermetic alchemy in the group surrounding the heretic millenarian Giuseppe Francesco Borri, by burning his alchemico-religious tracts and a replica of his body. Christina gave Borri employment in exile in Hamburg in 1667, some years before he was caught and imprisoned on his way to Constantinople. A number of recent Italian studies have shown that whether or not there developed a sub-cultural group with alchemical-prophetic politics in the circle of alchemists that Christina sponsored in Rome is one of the more bedeviling questions about her life as patronesse. There is some evidence that Christina not only had a central role in these activities, but that they also framed a search for new and controversial forms for political discourse in Rome. The problem is all the more vexing since in 1674, her own academy statutes stated that erudition never must come in conflict with the doctrines of the Church, nor express political opinions contrary to the present government.¹

It should be clear that her study of Hermetic texts, her practice in alchemy, and in astrological prediction were activities within one and the same field of thought. The manuscript *Il laboratorio filosofico—Paradossi Chimici* in Christina's own hand leaves no doubt about her practical alchemical involvement.² As a systematic theory, alchemy bears on the creation of matter, on biological generation, on the constitution of stars and human minds; it involves a chiliast notion of time, and teaches how things and minds can be influenced by an appeal to aspects of the World Soul.

As I show above, Leibniz argued that there are important links between vitalists in the chemical and the spinozistic-malebrachian schools. He also claims that Queen Christina was a prime expositor of such doctrines and argued that she had been taught secret Italian vitalist teachings from the libertine philosopher Gabriel Naudé. In 1676, at the time for his talks on mind-body

¹ See Chapter XIII, n. 18 of this book.

² Azzolino collection, Alchymica, no. 10. Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

interaction with Spinoza, Leibniz was so fascinated by his information on the Stockholm court that he planned to write a popular dialogue between Queen Christina and Descartes on the Soul of the World.³ The notion of the World Soul had gone through numerous transformations since its conception in early Greek philosophy and its function as a material, plastic, medium was commonplace in the neo-Stoic and neo-Platonic Renaissance. Christina's understanding of these connected themes was tempered by her discussions with her medical doctors Bourdelot and de Castro, and her own readings were grounded in the northern European Paracelsian tradition.

Paracelsus drew upon a Hermetic-Kabbalist core to make known to his Protestant readership how alchemy differs from the common expositions of creation in Genesis, and systematically applied these images to medicine.⁴ Paracelsus' world is a continual vital process in which natural objects are perfected and develop from "prime matter" towards their completion as "ultimate matter". The form of this scheme of material growth draws upon Aristotle's theory of biological generation, but Paracelsus made the scheme comprise the transformation of substances generally. The Stoic impulse in the scheme is clear in that the vital energy of a matrix in conception, its "Vulcan", cooperates with a basic reservoir of primal matter called "Iliaster" whose power sustains the nourishment and growth of the matrix. Iliaster has no life, rather it is like the Stoic's notion of the "logoi spermatokoi", a general pattern governing the process of growth. To infuse life into the matrix a further principle is postulated: The Archeus, an operative aspect of the World Soul, which out of the primal matter individuates the specific qualities of the natural object.⁵

According to Paracelsus' practical doctrine (more influential than the developments in dynamic metaphysics), the Archeus operates within the human organism as well in the astral firmament and the elements of matter. By imitating the operations of the Archeus, the alchemist aims through the arts of transmutation and astrology to manipulate the elements to assume their specific

³ Walter Pagel, *Das Medizinische Weltbild des Paracelsus, seine Zusammenhänge mit neu-Platonismus und Gnosis* 1962. Christian Gnosticism with its ideas of a restitution of Adam's Fall, influenced Jewish Kabbalah through the concept of "tikkun"—the reconstitution of the light dispersed at the creation—and both lived on in alchemy. For an introduction to these historical developments, see Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah*. 1978. pp. 128–143.

⁴ Leibniz, *Briefe und Aufsätze*, 3:6, 1672–1676, Berlin 1980. 2/12 1676, p. 399. Also, p. 582.

⁵ Walter Pagel (1962), pp. 40–42, 98–100.

ultimate form in which they reach their mature fruition. Time in Paracelsus' system is a qualitative biological notion; not conceivable without a thing existing, a process taking place, or a result maturing in it.⁶ But time also is fate, each individual object is inscribed in a portion of it, and these varying portions of time are the basis for Paracelsus' chiliast view of the world. Each individual object has an allotted time when it is "appointed in its monarchy", i.e., when it has reached its full maturity, when it unfolds its inner "light of nature", and after which it decays and dies.⁷ This is a confirmation of a continuous divine mystery; between the beginning and end of the world there is a continuous emergence of innumerable "monarchies" of things in fruition.

The conception is based on Gnostic theurgy holding that the souls of the just, ultimately, after enduring trials of strife and darkness, will be withdrawn from their exile to dwell in the light of the Divine Kingdom. Third-century Gnosis taught how through experiencing the inner divine sparks rooted in the mind, the soul can by fusion of its heterogenous aspects return to its original divine power. Latter day alchemists held that if only the divine signs could be broken and the nature of phenomena be understood, then the inner divine sparks of the soul could easily be controlled. Chemical transformations, they thought, could influence the inner alchemy of the mind, to set its grain in growth and long before its natural time convert it to perfected "ultimate matter". Paracelsus thus argues that the Archeus is connected to the human mind and that both are part of the universal soul, an emanation of divine intelligence.⁸

The controversial aspect of this scheme became clear when various medieval alchemists claimed that by referring to chemical processes, they could explain fusion, death, and resurrection; God's creation of the world; the mystery of the trinity, transubstantiation, and the eucharist.⁹ Alchemy thus increasingly was understood as independent of and transcending the traditional sacraments. The alchemical references in the Hermetic utopias of radical Italian reformers, such as Giordano Bruno and Tomaso Campanella, were meant to show how the doctrine could be an alternative to a church

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 81, 105–108.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 49.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 117–119.

⁹ Much as Ovid's *Metamorphosis* was considered an archetype for alchemical transformations, transubstantiation was held a special case of the philosophers' stone, Christ assuming the qualities of an Archeus. In 1656 in Antwerp, Christina told Count Montecuccoli how much she enjoyed reading Ovid. Nicholas Heinsius had worked on a modern edition in Stockholm.

many had come to regard as stifling, reactionary, and corrupt. The Astrology Bull of 1586, by which the Vatican reaffirmed the “Spondent Pariter” Bull of 1317 that had declared alchemy an heresy, made clear that Rome would not tolerate these tendencies.¹⁰ The public ban on alchemy once again relaxed in Christina’s Rome in the middle decades of the seventeenth century. The political threat from alchemist radicals had been successfully suppressed and the alchemists’ activities were considered to be tolerable, when confined to the privacy of the wealthiest palaces.

But in 1661, Alexander VII reaffirmed the “Costituzione” of Paul V in order to achieve a harsher condemnation of heresies. By a surprising set of discoveries, Mino Gabriele has recently shown that this ban led to the expression of pseudo-Rosicrucian protests in a circle composed of Christina’s closest alchemical friends.¹¹ This extraordinary development creates problems for the received view of Christina’s involvement with these alchemists. Can we any longer regard as certain that her involvement was distanced from a prelude to an overall political reform; that it was only a self interested search for psychological relief? It is clear that as an early form of psychotherapy, alchemy had a potent feature in its imagery of transmutations. C. G. Jung has argued that the images of transmutation imitate states and alterations in a maturing psyche, and the path described as leading to the ultimate discovery of the precious metals closely resemble archetypal myths of the quest for spiritual individuation. In his classic study of Swedes in Rome, Carl Bildt has used a psychological interpretation to point out that given the private nature of her practice, Christina in the remains of her royal sovereignty could act almost as she wished and finance almost anyone she wanted, i.e., as long as the Papacy knew it would not be used for a denial of their spiritual hierarchy.¹²

Bildt’s interpretation finds support in her Maxims, where Christina mentions the alchemical art to make the affirmative, but noncommittal statement: “La Chimie est un belle science, elle est

¹⁰ On the alchemical tradition in Renaissance Italy, see Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* 1964.

¹¹ For alchemical involvement in spite of the ban see Mino Gabriele, “l’Alchimista Massimiliano Palombara: un rosacrose nella Roma controriformista” in a very usefull volume edited by Fabio Troncarelli, *La Città dei segreti—Magia, astrologia e cultura esoterica a Roma* 1985, pp. 213–220. The Porta Magica is described in Luciano Pirotta, *La Porta Ermetica (Un Tesoro Dimenticato)* 1979. Included under “Borri” in Vinci Verginelli, *Bibliotheca Hermetica, Catalogo Raccolta Verginelli—Antichi testi Ermetici* 1986. pp. 84–93.

¹² Carl Bildt, *Svenska Minnen och Märken i Rom* 1900 p. 165, 183.

l'anatomie de la nature et la seule véritable clé qui ouvre tous les trésor.” She immediately adds that this royal and divine science had fallen into contempt because of its use by quacks and opportunists.¹³ The context of Gabriele’s studies suggests a rather more interesting development among Roman practitioners, practices that, were at the very heart Christina’s world. One has perhaps been too quick to point out that whatever her own participation in these activities was based on, they led to no apparent political change and they did not have scientific progress as their end. Her case has been taken to show how the Catholic ban on alchemy was effective in denying serious and public research in these fields. In the Catholic world, Hermetic knowledge developed primarily in its decorative, mystical, therapeutic, and private aspects. The utilitarian use of chemical knowledge emerged for the most part in the Protestant region and in this Christina could play no significant role after her abdication. Even so, when she wrote to her medical doctor Pierre Bourdelot and to the critical historian Pierre Bayle asking them to send her news from free realms of publication in the north, she particularly wanted books on chemistry.¹⁴

In her Roman collection there is an unpublished, but very legibly produced, French compendium called *Veritas Hermetica*, that uses quotes from various authors to convey the inner meaning of the alchemical tradition. It asserts that “véritables philosophes (quoy qu’ils parlent de different termes) ne doivent avoir écrit que sur une même pensée.” Namely, that the philosopher’s stone gives vigour to all vegetables, making them produce flowers and fruits in extraordinary abundance, and in perfect maturity, long before their season. Explaining: “Les Philosophes ont un Jardin ou le soleil soir et matin et jour et nuit, est à toute heure, et incessamment demeure avec une douce rosée—par laquelle est bien arrosee, cette aux gauthe de rosée de May.” Expounding on Genesis 27:28, Isaac’s benediction to Jacob contained but two matters: De Rore Coeli et pingandine terra—the dewy moisture of the heavens and the fatness of the earth—as told by the F. R. C. fratre Rores cocti—

¹³ Arne Wettermark mentions her statement that alchemy is the “science des Roys” that gives the “véritables sagesse à son possesseur”. Written in a blocked over maxim in the Azzolini collection 38 K431, but that can be read fully in the Montpellier collection XVI, f. 32.

¹⁴ Christina to Pierre Bourdelot 1676, Christina to Pierre Bayle 1687 in the Montpellier collection also printed in O. T. Hult, “Frankrike i svensk medecin under 16- och 1700-talen”. *Lychnos*, Uppsala 1940.

brothers of well proportioned Dew. Boasting Trevisano's claim: "There is no other vinegar than ours, no other regime than ours."¹⁵

Counter-Reform Rosicrucians?—A Problem for the History of Rome

In 1680, one of Christina's friends, Massimilliano Savelli, Marchese Palombara, built a monumental door, a "Porta Magica", at his villa Esquillino. This door frame in stone bore Latin acrosticons and astro-planetary signs said to commemorate an alchemical transmutation that took place eleven years earlier in the Queen's Palazzo: an unknown traveller had arrived and had promised to perform the ultimate alchemical act in her chambers. The night passed, at dawn the door was opened, and on the floor a broken glass was found with scraps of gold and a cryptic message; the man himself had disappeared.¹⁶ Palombara's commemorative door, that still stands to be seen in Piazza Vittorio Emmanuel, is headed by a trinitarian emblem; circle, double triangle, and cross. Beneath it, the Hebrew inscription "Ruach Alim", the Spirit of the Lord, indicates a dependence on the operations of the World Soul. Under the sign of Mercury one reads: "Azoth et Ignis Dealbando Latanam veniet sine veste Diana." Confidently, but equally cryptically, another of the signs heralds that wisdom arising out of the earth will bring salvation to the people: "Sophi aperire terram salutem pro populem." While the particular codes involved makes complex allusions to the pagan legend of Jason and the Golden Fleece, there is no doubt that the door affirms a celestial religion thought necessary for salvation.¹⁷ The two figures that now stand at the sides of the door symbolize the Egyptian dwarf god Bes—protector of the underworld and of childbearing—but they were added first in the eighteenth century.

By 1660, Palombara had written a set of Hermetic verses, *La Bugia*—the candlelight, that exist in two manuscript versions. The version deposited in Christina's manuscript collection frames the verses with a vision of St. John the Divine seated in the midst of a

¹⁵ *Veritas Hermetica*, pp. 86, 43, 38, 24. Reg. Ms. Lat. 1218. Bibl. Apost. Vaticana.

¹⁶ Vinci Verginelli (1986) pp. 90–91.

¹⁷ For a detailed analysis of the door, see the modern occultist expert Eugène Canseliet, *Deux Logis Alchimique* 1985 (1945). On p. 89 Canseliet points out that the heading symbol is taken from the frontispiece of Henricus Madhatanus, *Aureum Saeculum redivivum et quod nunc iterum apparuit, suaviter floruit, & odoriferum aureumque semen peperit*. Francfort 1625. Also reproduced in the most completely illustrated catalogue on alchemy available to date, Jaques van Lennep, *Alchimie—Contribution à l'histoire de l'art alchimique* 1985. p. 282.

Whirlwind and pronouncing the Revelation: "I am Alpha and Omega . . . and it has been written in the Book, sealed from the beginning of Time . . ." This copy, however, is an altered and compressed version in verse. In the corresponding lines of the earlier and much longer prose version it is claimed that its message is sung by a voice in a hidden grotto known only to a select fraternity. The author describes how the Italian knight Morieno Romanus in 1182 went to the Orient and brought home an Arabic tract that he translated into Latin as *De Alchymia*. After him there arose in the world "una compagnia intitolata della Rosae Croce o come altri dicono dell' Aurea Crocea" who now in order to praise the munificence of God also are established in Italy. They know that the heat in matter, Anaxagoras' and Empedeclos' "hylé", or the Stoic's "pneuma", must be moistened in proportion to form a fertile earth. But soon the author invokes Harpocrates, the God of silence, as not all secrets fare well from being revealed. Instead, the text goes on to say that its message was a direct archetypal revelation in 1652 to the consciousness of the writer, who reveals himself only under the acrosticon "Pix alba amara luminis umi."¹⁸

Palombara's *La Bugia* raises questions: The original Rosicrucian messages claimed that a German knight had brought the secrets of Arabia to Europe in the form of secret codes compiled in the book *Liber Mundus*, but their aim was strongly anti-Papal and they interpreted Rome as Anti-Christ. It was common knowledge that the appearance of Rosicrucian pamphlets in 1623 in Paris had caused a stir of hatred against Protestant influence and that several counterclaims from Catholics had been produced. Among them were Marin Mersenne's and Gabriele Naudé's declarations that the Rosicrucian predictions were complete fraudulent fiction. Why, then, did Palombara use the heretical Rosicrucian imagery? Was it read as a document to found some special meetings? As Palombara seems to have regarded the imagery as effective, why is the second copy altered? Gabriele suggests that the second version was meant for publication, and points out that Palombara's pledge to be a rebellious son of the church was carefully deleted. The image of a silencing Harpocrates evokes the idea of self-censorship, that we know must have been applied in the group fascinated by Borri's heresies.¹⁹ If the second copy was altered because Christina was the intended reader, did the author change it to conform to her much

¹⁸ Mino Gabriele (1985), p. 214 ff. 217.

¹⁹ Mino Gabriele, *Il Giardino di Hermes—Massimiliano Palombara alchimista e rosacroce* 1986. pp. 90–91.

more amiable view of the Pope, or was the change caused by other factors?

It is significant that a similar strategy of acrostic dissimulation was used by Queen Christina's employee Francesco Maria Santinelli (the brother of Ludovico Santinelli, aid in the Monaldescho-murder). In 1666, he, under the pseudonym "Marcantonio Crasselame Chinese" published a Hermetic work called *Lux Obnubilata*, that together with his other alchemical poetry shows him to be ardently devoted to the esoteric aspects of alchemy.²⁰ Alexander VII had made clear that the Inquisition was at work in this period and those who came out with apocalyptic alchemical visions were to be given no place in Rome. The reactions to Borri's heresy indeed makes one wonder about the parameters within which citizens of Rome could come to confess what Gabriele concludes must have been "un credo rosacrociano riformista ma ancora 'cattolico' e non anti-papale."²¹

Christina's Alchemical Manuscripts

In Stockholm there was not much excitement when in 1648 Swedish troops brought home some of the great alchemical splendour that Michael Maier, John Dee, and Heinrich Kuhn Rath had built around Emperor Rudolph II. When Christina left for Rome, Isaac Vossius (with or without her permission) took most of the Rudolphine alchemical books to Leiden where he attempted to sell them at a high price. Among these Rudolphine manuscripts was the curiously illustrated manuscript by pseudo-Saint Thomas, *Mysterium Conjunctionis*, that C. G. Jung has given an archetypal analysis. In its representation of male and female fusion, Jung saw separation and synthesis of psychic opposites.²² In 1651, Vossius had thought it possible to trade these manuscripts among German princes for rare Greek manuscripts that he thought more valuable than these popular works with their illustrations and golden bindings.²³ The alchemical material in Christina's Roman library is not as vast, but raises more concern. Along with various manuscripts by different hands, she owned the complete printed works of Paracelsus, as well as the major medical and alchemical works by Christian Kabbalist Paracelsists such as Oswald Croll, Johannes

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 219. Stefano Andreani, "l'Esoterismo Manieristico di Crasselame" in Fabio Troncarelli ed. (1985) pp. 198–207.

²¹ Mino Gabriele (1985), p. 219.

²² P. C. van Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici* 1985.

²³ F. F. Blok, "Contributions to the History of Queen Christina's library" 1974.

Thurneisser and Andreas Libavius (who in 1615 had written a tract, not in her library, criticising the Rosicrucian Lion prophecy.)²⁴ She also had secured several hermeneutic manuscripts from Prague, such as Trithemus' *Steganographia*, John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphia*, and a Spanish *Picatrix*. (The Dee mss. in Reg. Lat. 1266 at the Vatican under the title *De Lapide Philosophorum* include a German alchemical compendium offered to the Palatine Prince Fredrick of the Rhine. They are bound in a red covering with Christina's weapon, bearing a golden sheath of wheat to indicate her Wasa origin. However, two black marks have been scratched right through them on both sides of the covering.)

The clearest example of Christina's role in the alchemical circles in Italy is the dedication copy given to her in 1683, by Giovanni Battista Comastri, the *Specchio della Verità*. Stamped by the Inquisition in Venice it explains how the "materia universale", the true mercury and philosophic solvent, can be found in the air. Boldly it sets out by an appeal to the Arabic thinker Rasis to refute the theory, developed by Averroes and Giordano Bruno, of seeing the world as a duality, both as in active creation and as a passivly created: "E sentenza commune che due siano le Nature, dette volgarmente Natura naturante e Natura naturata; ma per opinione de Rasis e d'altri antichi, tre sono contate."²⁵ A threefold scheme instead governs the flowering of biological growth. The author likens the abstracted principles and final destination of the development with God's omnipotence. He regards the interactions between the principles as if three persons in one. Yet, these triples-with-a-goal, seem to perform little essential work. The major part of the treatise calls upon Hermes, Geber, Avicenna, Basilio Valentinus, Trevisano, Sendivogius, Isaac the Hollander, the Cosmopolitan, and van Helmont to display how the aerial solvent's influences on our senses can become like the rays of the sun.

Exactly when Christina's own experiments began is unclear, Ambassador Juel in 1653 mentions an Italian "chemist" named Bandini as present in the Stockholm court. That year she also received a book of Italian poetry from Leopold of Tuscany, depicting her as seated among the muses and with the staff of Hermes in

²⁴ Christian Callmer, "Queen Christina's Library of Printed Books in Rome" in Magnus von Platen ed. *Christina of Sweden—Documents and Studies* 1966, pp. 59, 68 ff. Although most of Rudolph II's alchemical collection had been given to Isaac Vossius at Leiden, Christina's medical-chemical works include alchemists such as Avicenna (Canon Medicinae 1569), pseudo-Mesue, Arnold of Villanova etc.

²⁵ Anna Maria Partini ed., *Specchio della Verità—dedicata alla Regina Cristina di Svezia, Venezia 1683* 1989. p. 61.

her hand. Apollo brings her light and Stockholm is shown under the zodiac patterns of the Bear and the Swan.²⁶ Earlier, Johannes Franck had offered her a dialogue on the philosopher's stone between the mountain gods and the Gothic student of Pythagoras, Zamolxes: *Colloquium philosophicum cum diis montanis . . .* (Uppsala 1651). The dialogue is preceded by a sign of a key, whose upper circle is named "crown of wisdom, health, and divination" and whose end point represents the translucent stone. Beneath it is a call on Revelation 21:18–21. The quote names the twelve crystallic stones of which the walls of the New Jerusalem will be built and the vision continues to its end "the streets of the city *was* pure gold, as it were [of] transparent glass." The building blocks of alchemy thus were revealed to maintain the inner workings of the Apocalypse. Accordingly, in a dissertation of Uppsala, Franck some years earlier had claimed that Sendivogius' prophecy of the rise of a fourth Monarchy, in the northern kingdom "Borealis", is identical to Paracelsus' vision of the advent of Elias the Artist whose master skills in metallurgic crafts would dawn in 1658.²⁷

It is significant that at the time of her millenarian readings, Christina was practicing the art; as in 1656 at Pesaro, when she employed an Italian named Vitebo to assist her transmutations. At Fontainebleau in 1657 she continued, assisted by her aide in the Monaldescho execution, Francesco Maria Santinelli.²⁸ In Hamburg in 1666, she is helped by one of Teixera's Jewish friends, Joshua Abendsur, in culling information from Joseph Glauber on his universal solvent Alchahest, his "menstruum primum volatile".²⁹ Glauber was at work on revising Paracelsus' trinitarian metaphysics in order to supplant it with an emphasis on the dual modes of dry heat and cool humidity. He argued that Paracelsus' messianic-alchemist myth of "Elias Artista", while overtly a code for the artisan prophet Elia who would return before the advent of Christ, in fact signified an acrosticon for a transformation of "Et Artis Salia/Et Sal artis", i.e., a salt, that he furthermore claimed to have identified. Glauber's salt and alchahest thus came close to the

²⁶ A. Weixelgärtner, "Eine von Stefano della Bella illustrierte Handschrift für Königin Christine" *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 22, 1953, pp. 99–110.

²⁷ Johannes Franck, *De principiis constitutivis lapidis philosophici*. Uppsala 1645 or 1651. Thesis 38. Sten Lindroth, (1943), p. 305.

²⁸ Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm. Pesaro 1656. MSS. D: 683, 3–7. Jeanne Bignami Odier and Anna Maria Partini, "Cristina di Svezia e le Scienze Occulte" *Physis* 1981, pp. 251–278. p. 265 ff.

²⁹ Carl Bildt, *Christine de Suède et le Cardinal Azzolino* 1899. p. 314.

medieval notion of the philosopher's stone—a compound identified with Christ in his mode as Gnostic saviour.³⁰

The same arcane properties were sought when Christina got in contact with Giuseppo Francesco Borri in 1667 at Hamburg. With him, she hoped to solve the mystery of the philosopher's stone, a material thought to fuse metals into new compounds, and thus in theory preparing the road for transmuting base metals into gold.³¹ Earlier that year, Christina got news of an illiterate Dutch artisan, who outside Amsterdam had publically demonstrated his possession of the stone. Christina responded to the news with some scepticism, but she was impressed by the fact that Helvetius, a Swiss authority in Paracelsist medecine at work with the house of Orange, was reported to believe the report.³² Her informant may have been Isaac Vossius who had contacts at the Hague. In correspondence, Spinoza claimed he had heard of similar proceedings in Amsterdam, a probable allusion to Borri.³³

In 1667, Borri arrived in Hamburg, having just travelled from Amsterdam to the librarians' haven at the court of Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Christina contacted Borri for the latest news. They experimented together for a while, but when Christina got a letter from Cardinal Azzolini in Rome a month later telling her that Borri was a dangerous heretic who in 1661 had been burned in effigy along with his works, she saw that she had to disassociate herself from him.³⁴

Borri's condemnation by the Inquisition did not hinge on his alchemy or his medical practice, but on his strange millenarian views. In Rome and Milano, Borri had founded an illuminist sect to which he taught that he had been selected as "pro-Christ" to found a new sacred Kingdom, and that he with the Archangel Michael's help would unite all mankind under papal rule—upon which the millenium would begin. Borri claimed that his alchemy could bring riches for a papal army that would conquer all enemies.³⁵ He knew that he was chosen since Noah together with

³⁰ Herbert Breger, "Elias Artista—a precursor of the Messiah in natural science". *Nineteen Eighty-Four—Science between Utopia and Dystopia*. H. Mendelsohn and Helga Nowotny eds. 1984.

³¹ Carl Bildt, (1899) pp. 386–389, 392–393, 470–472. On Borri see S. Rotta's article in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. Rome 1971. Vol. 13, pp. 4–12.

³² Carl Bildt (1899).

³³ *Ibid.* Compare Spinoza to Jarig Jelles 27 March 1667.

³⁴ In addition to *DBI* (1971), see Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* 1922. Vol. IV. p. 44–45.

³⁵ *DBI* Vol. 13 p. 11.

Zoroaster had generated a Salamander from whom he stemmed. Borri's explications, deriving from Oriental ideas on angeleogy, were to a reach a wider audience when disorganized and repeated in the eighteenth-century pseudo-masonic work *Le Comte de Gabalis*. Borri also prepared his followers with heretical doctrines on the nature of God's divinity. By espousing the special status of St. Anne, he seemed to divinize her daughter, the mother of Christ. Accused of being a false impostor, in 1656 he fled north to Strassburg and Amsterdam. In Rome in 1661, during the purge of heresies, four of his apostles were captured. They had to swear off their beliefs in front of Borri's image at a ceremony in S. Maria sopra Minerva. They were sentenced to prison and the galleys.³⁶

Settling in Holland, Borri received fame and success through his operations on birds' eyes; his findings on the liquors of the eye were also discussed in the Royal Society.³⁷ Leibniz, in commenting some notes found among Descartes' papers at Stockholm to the effect that transmutation might be possible if one could find the correct temperatures in the range supplied by different furnace burners, adds that this was also Borri's view.³⁸

After Hamburg, Borri lived at the Danish court, where he wrote a political instruction for King Fredrik III. Following a period of favor with the Danes, Borri had to flee in 1670 to Turkey. In Hungary, he was arrested by Imperial troops and was turned over to the Inquisition that imprisoned him in St. Angelo castle, where he died in 1692.³⁹ The French ambassador d'Estree used to consult the prisoner's herbal practice, but the story of Christina's visits to him during her Rome period is unconfirmed. At one point, Borri was allowed to present himself on a balcony to administer benedictions to a huge crowd. He was wearing a green mantle. Newton apparently knew of the scene as he wanted Francis Aston to find out more on "Bory", the "man in green", on Aston's Grand Tour in 1668. A copy of medical recipes, partly in Borri's hand, entitled

³⁶ For a list of Borri's heresies see Gregorio Leti, *L'Ambasciata di Romolo a Romani Anon.* Fictitious imprint. Colonia (Geneva?) 1676. p. 697 ff. Was one of them, as Odier and Partini seem to indicate, Massimiliano Palombbara's son? See article "Burri" in K. von Webern *Aus vier Jahrhunderten Dresden* 1861. vol. II, p. 61 ff. It also relates of Borri's relation to John Georg II of Saxony.

³⁷ A. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall eds. *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg* 1965.

³⁸ *Oeuvres de Descartes* Alain/Tannery Vol. X, "Varia".

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 12. The story of Christina's favours to the prisoner in St. Angelo, may be mistaken for her similar confirmed assistance to the Quietist Molinos, related in Charles Mackey, *Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds*. London 1841. Reprinted by Harmony books, New York 1980. p. 210-211.

Liber di Secreti Speciali, is now kept at the Royal library in Stockholm.⁴⁰

Christina could develop some experiments in her own laboratory in Rome. Before going to Hamburg in 1666, she was instructed by a “man from Majorca” who soon fled to Naples spreading the story that Christina had wanted to murder him. In his absence Cardinal Azzolini used the Majorcan’s leftover equipment. On the alchemical payroll were also Pietro Antonio Bandiera and Federico Gualdo.⁴¹ In 1688, Fredrick Wilhelm of Brandenburg sent Christina a gift: a red crystal. She sent it to the German chemist Kunckel to have the compound analyzed. She was also interested in the phosphorus. A year later, when Christina’s health was failing she made an attempt to gain the alkahest of the alchemist Samuel Forsberg of Stralsund in Swedish Pommerania.⁴² Contemporary sources also mention several other persons involved. Among those mentioned is a woman alchemist called “the Sibyl”, who lived in Christina’s palace in order to receive an education. Who these people were and what their works indicate has to date not fully been determined, and to decide the function of the Roman alchemical subculture requires more research.

There were also attempts in Christian Kabbalism, as in Bonaventura Pellegrini’s manuscript on the *Immenso e nascoste tesoro dell’ ineffabile Tetragrammaton* given to Christina in 1676. Here, the view of Jewish mysticism—that the 22 names and 72 attributes of God used in the psalms explain the properties of the Messiah—is adapted to the Christian mystery of the Trinity. After a meticulous review of the Pentateuch and the book of Kings to show that a Catholic Church has been prophesied since the beginning of time, the attributes are enumerated, in particular in their connection to the glory of King David.⁴³

⁴⁰ B. Neveu, *Regia Fortuna . . . Le Palais Farnese* 1981 pp. 477–480. Gale E. Christianson, *In the Presence of the Creator—Isaac Newton and his Times* 1984. p. 114. Christianson’s contention on p. 221 that Newton derived his acquaintance with Giuseppe Borri from reading Michael Maier’s *Symbola Aurea* (1617) is incorrect (although there may be some relation between that book and Madhathanus’ *Aureum Saculum* (1625) mentioned in note 17 above)—rather the two alchemists, Newton and Borri, were contemporaries.

⁴¹ Jeanne Bignami Odier and Anna Maria Partini (1981).

⁴² Christina’s associate Federico Gualdo and his work *Vita e la Distruzione della Morte* are mentioned by Fabio Troncarelli (1985) p. 21. See also Bignami Odier and Partini (1981) p. 263; also p. 261 n. 38. On the red crystal—a note from Berlin (1752), in Uppsala UB, E. 406.

⁴³ Bonaventura Pellegrini’s Tetragrammaton in Ms. Reg. Lat. 474. “tal funzione di benedir il Popolo col nome delle quattro lettere che implivcamente conteneua il mistero della Trinita, poiche e venuta il Messia, a cui solera riservato . . . gli Arcani.” ff. 96–97.

An important factor in alchemy, the royal art, is the thought that transmutation patterns and controls monarchical grace. It also plays on images of a primal state of bi-sexual androgeny. Christina's self-identification with Alexander the Great, shown in her adoption of the new name "Christine Alexandre", just may have been the reason behind her pursuit. She was once crowned according to the order and symbols of a king (a coronation practice for unwed queens applied earlier also in Poland and Hungary), and her conviction about her kingly status was the source of her robust self-esteem. There is, also, a rather strange document in the Azzolino collection that describes the events in 1682 when Christina apparently had a prolapsed uterus. During a couple of days she began to believe that she was regenerating into a man. An Italian priest is supposed to have prostrated before her with the salutation: "Salve Rex Suecorum".⁴⁴

How this involvement formed Christina's relation to Cardinal Azzolino and to the liberal "squadrone volante" group they together favoured in papal politics is an interesting question that perhaps can be solved by new documentation on the internal politics of the Vatican during Christina's Roman period. The relation between Christina's alchemy, her early belief in a World Soul, and the activities in her Roman academies highlights new features of the little understood tenacity of the Hermetic world view.

Also, that Christina the Catholic in her private views was more interested in a mixture of atomism and vitalism, alchemy and Hermeticism, together with the many signs of an Arcadian format, raises questions on how to interpret her religious views. As I further review in the next chapter, important contemporaries like Leibniz saw Molinos' Quietist pietism as a natural consequence of a belief in a single universal spirit of which human minds are only modes or aspects. It was clearer to him than it has been to most researchers that the "modern chemists" shared metaphysical views with the internalism proposed by the heretic reformer Molinos. Remnants more ready at hand, such as the stairs that Christina built in the grotesque garden of *Bosco Parraiso*, at the top of which Crescembini's famous Arcadian academy sometimes met, could contribute to discerning what other functions the fashion of Hermetic imagery

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 267. Azzolino-collection 1682, Ms. 1626. Riksarkivet, Stockholm. Modern gynecologists claim that a prolapsed uterus most frequently occurs with women who have had several childbirths.

had.⁴⁵ If more source material could be found, such a study would have to incorporate the fact that in Rome, alchemy, when put to concrete prophetical use, was considered to be on the bare fringes of acceptable activity.

⁴⁵ Lorenzo Lotti, *Cristina di Svezia, L'Arcadia e il Bosco Parraiso*. Rome 1977.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

CHRISTINA AND MOLINOS' QUIETISM

Christina's uncompleted *Autobiography*, which she began to write in Hamburg in 1667, on the advice of Cardinal Azzolino, in Stolpe's assessment is the first record of her atonement ultimately leading to her acceptance of the Quietism for which Miguel Molinos in 1685 went on trial in Rome.¹ The draft is an Augustinian confession showing Christina transformed from her early doubts into an enunciator of her desire for God. But Stolpe also shows that the confessional part of the *Autobiography*, which is preceded by an overly lengthy history of Sweden and the house of Wasa, probably was intended as a diplomatic instrument for the Catholic Polish electorship.² The dual purpose of Christina's confession in my view weakens Stolpe's construal of how the doctrine of the interior Christian in the end took possession of her doubts. As Stolpe sees it, her Quietism emerged because mere doubts, however prolonged, cannot ground a worldview. Christina finally admitted that her life of Stoic self-reliance had laid her life waste and barren, and that to be saved she would offer a quietist resignation of her will. By contrast, I argue that a proper description of Christina's sceptical period must take seriously her rejection of the absolutely central Christian doctrines, such as salvation by grace and an ultimate bodily resurrection. Instead of Stolpe's interpretation—seeing Christina's quietism as a deepening of a purist, but Catholic, religious experience—I argue that her Quietist period was a natural outcome of her universalist World Soul philosophy, that she previously had attempted to develop through the Hermetic and alchemist traditions.

The practical doctrine of Miguel Molinos' *Guida Spirituale* (1675), the spiritual guide that disentangles the soul, pointed to an inward way of perfect contemplation and inner peace, and emphasized the annihilation of the self by a quiet resignation into a passive and

¹ Sven Stolpe, *Fran Stoicism till Mystik* 1959. p. 33–34.

² *Ibid.* pp. 28–30. The idea was first introduced by Sforza Pallavicino, who in 1658 needed a statement for his biography of Alexander VII. Christina did not start the autobiography we now know of until 1668, either as a preparation for the Polish election or as a statement to salvage her reputation after her failure. It was again resumed in 1680–81, perhaps as a reply to Piques' comments in Chanut's memoirs that were then republished.

receptive state.³ Leaving Valencia for Rome in 1663, Molinos administered this practise to a large group of followers who depended on him as their confessor and who were encouraged to set down their discursive thoughts in writing. Antonio Dominguez Ortiz has found that in the Madrid Inquisition documents on Molinos, the accused Quietist is contemptuously identified as "aragones, descendiente de judios, embustero, etc." Miguel Molinos thus seems to have been of Jewish descent, a Marrano New Christian. His biography written in Rome just about his condemnation in 1687 explains that Molinos had come to seek the beatification of a Spanish mystic. He had an introduction letter to Cardinal Albrizzi. In private correspondence, Richard Popkin has pointed out to me that when the trip from Spain to Italy by boat is mentioned the biography states "dembercose en Liorna [Livorno], donde per curiosidad fue a ver el ghetto de los hebreos, y allegado a Roma . . ."⁴

Thus, the first time in his life that he was out of Spain, Molinos went first to the ghetto in Livorno before he contacted anyone else. Why? For a Spanish priest, raised under the Inquisition, to have visited a Jewish community "por curiosidad" must have been very unusual. Was it mentioned at all in the biography because an explanation was needed for the trip to the Livorno ghetto, and that over twenty years after the voyage the matter had to be dealt in order to avoid revealing the Jewish descent? Molinos success in Italy had perhaps something to do with the activities among Jews in Livorno—those who in 1666 were the foremost followers in the Sabbatai Sevi movement. Molinos' mysticism, as Michel de Certau points out, fell in the ethnic "tradition of the *gespaltete Seelen*, divided souls, whose cleaved lives created a hidden interiority." These Marranos were Christians freed from traditional Jewish ritual. They were readers of the Bible without the burden of theology, and were not eager to fall into new formalism. Their involvement with Christianity was contemporary with the heterodox Spanish reception of Erasmus. They came to emphasize his notion of the mystical body of believers, in opposition to the traditional formation of church hierarchy.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 232–267. Leszek Kolakowski, *Chrétien sans église* 1969. pp. 492–566. *The Spiritual Guide which disentangles the Soul and brings it by the inward way to the getting of perfect contemplation and the rich Treasure of Internal Peace.* Engl. Transl. 2nd ed. 1689. Reprinted 1885.

⁴ Antonio Dominguez Ortiz, *Los Judeoconversos en Espana y America* 1973. p. 166 n. 24. Molinos' biography is reprinted in *Antholica Catholica* Instituto Espanol de Historia Ecclesiastica. Rome 1964. pp. 293–322.

The ethnic conditions of the New Christians facilitated the sixteenth century Spanish mystical tradition, which came to fruition in the Marrano Luis de Leon's understanding of the mystical element in the names of Christ, and developed in the Catholic visions of his students Theresa of Avila's *The Interior Castle* and St. John of the Cross' *The Dark Night of the Soul*. Molinos' Quietism differs from the Spanish mystics (as well as from the well known forms of Jesuit mystical exercise exemplified in Christina's life by Antonio Vieira's *Maria Rosa Mystica* (1675)) in his focus on mental stillness. He dispensed with the path of previous Catholic mystics, who offered a glimpse of the divine in imaginative visions of Christ's passion. Christ, the Madonna, the Saints, the festive holy days and other exterior symbols should play no role for the resigned Quietist, even "imperfect representations, images and ideas of the will, the Trinity and Unity appear Deiform yet are not God."⁵

The Spanish mystics in the following of Luis de Leon derived their insights and practise from the tradition of diverse visions of God set out by Jewish Kabbalists. Molinos' Quietism is peculiar in its purist emphasis on annihilation and union, and should perhaps be regarded as a reaction against the previous forms of discursive elaboration. "Shut up like in Noah's ark," the quietist is on his way to God. By an inward stillness, a listening rather than a visionary state, the adept can come to know everything in God. "To the end that the Sovereign King may rest on that throne of thy soul."⁶ But as with the Kabbalists and the Spanish mystics, the Quietist practise aims to accept the divine kingdom in which God rules all things irresistably, yet with a docility and lack of violence that make humans perceive the exercise of their free will, while in reality they are subservient to the divine will. Vested of the usual church rituals, the believer could approach the state of inner quietude in which he or she was infused, in the words of Leibniz, that "Sabbath, or repose of Souls in God." Or as the Vatican condemnation of Molinos' errors in 1687 "Coelestis Pastor" recants: "By doing nothing the soul annihilates itself and returns to its beginning and to its origin, which is the essence of God, in which it remains transformed and divinized, and God then remains in himself, because the two things are no more united, but are one alone, and

⁵ Michel de Certau, "Mystic Speech" in *Heterologies—Discourse on the Other* 1986. pp. 80–100. Sven Stolpe, (1959). p. 241, argues that Christina's Quietist period accounts for her disinterest in the images of Mary and Christ—they are, however, absent in all of Christina's writings.

⁶ Miguel Molinos (1885), Part I Ch. I, p. 8. Ch. III, p. 12. Ch. XV. Ch. I, p. 7.

in this manner God lives and reigns in us, and the soul annihilates itself in operative being.”⁷

Stolpe argues that Christina's Quietism was prepared for by her relation to Azzolino. In 1666 while in Hamburg, Cardinal Azzolino urged Christina to cure her melancholy by reading the newly translated *L'Interieur chrétien* (1659) by Jean de Bernières de Louvigny.⁸ In France, the Jansenist revival of the Augustinian doctrine of interior grace had paved the way for interiorist practice. But while Christina received from Arnauld in Paris in 1656 Pascal's first twelve provincial letters on the Jesuit error of believing in salvation by works, these criticisms did not affect her emphasis on the will and Stoic self-determination. Stolpe also shows that Molinos's *Guide* was influenced by the *Pratique facile* (1664) of the blind Quietist Malaval, whom Christina met in Marseille 1656. Christina had then shown interest in the early patristic doctrines on the trinity, but Malaval deplored Christina's Hermetic leanings.⁹

There were other influences as well. As a celebrated convert in Rome, Christina was exposed to several kinds of mysticism. In a letter from a nunnery in Madrid, Christina was asked in 1681 to intervene for the Spanish mystic Maria d'Agreda, whose work *Mistica ciudad o Historia de la Reine de los Angelos* had been condemned. Maria d'Agreda had been a confidant of Philip IV, and had induced him to make war on the rebellious Portugal in defence of Spain's sacred role and to prepare for an onslaught on the Ottoman empire. Now her crypto-Gnostic rendering of Mary as the first of all creatures, inspired the immaculist movement that tried to make the Spanish devotion of the Virgin an official Catholic dogma. In considering their pleas, Rome had chosen to condemn her works as stemming from heretical doctrines of the early church. Christina had the means to intervene, but it is not known if she ever acted in d'Agreda's defence.¹⁰

Some time later Christina received a dedication copy on the life of Catherine of Genoa. Stolpe has recorded how Christina's marginal notes in this book pass from defiance to recognition of the saint's descriptions of the interior life. Her marginal comments on the saint's vision of the soul's way to union through purgatory show

⁷ Innocent XI: Condemnation “Coelestis Pastor”, 20 November 1687. pp. 274–281. No. 5, p. 275. J. Colman Barry, *Readings in Church History* 1985. pp. 274–281.

⁸ Sven Stolpe (1981) p. 463.

⁹ Sven Stolpe (1959) p. 109, 267. French ed. 1659, Italian ed. 1666.
¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 229–230.

that Christina identifies with the sufferings experienced on the way to satisfy the soul's desire for Divine love. While Stolpe makes clear that in 1657 Christina had rejected purgation as a necessary part of doctrine, he concludes that Christina now had come to experience a psychological affinity with the beginnings of Christian mysticism.¹¹ French reports indicate that Molinos and Christina held meetings once a week in her palace, originated and staged by Cardinal Azzolino. Cardinal d'Estrées reports that Azzolino supported Jansenist and Quietist doctrines, but he suspected that this was only a result of Azzolino's wish to appear as a pious man before the Pope—whose position Azzolino was, in the final analysis, striving for. D'Estrees could not resist making a revealing comment on Christina's and Azzolino's spiritual ardour: "L'on a remarqué que cette oraison de *quiete* est protégée par les deux plus *inquieti* spiriti de cette cour."¹²

When it was time for Molinos' inquisition, Christina had burned her two hundred Quietist penitence letters, letters that, while seized, had out of discretion been removed from the Inquisitor's records.¹³ Stolpe has shown in detail how traces of Christina's Quietist period are found in the sections of a late version of her maxims *Les Sentiments*. He also points out, however, the complicating factor that all these entries are struck out.¹⁴ Stolpe argues that when revelations from the process against Molinos spread, Christina abandoned her former trust in him. In spite of the accusations, she still revered him and helped him for three months during his imprisonment by sending news and baskets of food.¹⁵ The marginal notes she added to her copy of the protocol of Inquisition show that while she doubted reports on Molinos' personal excesses, in letters to him she chided him about his claims of godly inspiration saying that his ardent advice came from a demon that knew her badly, but she had accepted the fundamental details of his teaching.¹⁶

Molinos' written *Guide*, that quickly gained a wide readership through three Spanish and seven Italian editions, does not seem to amount to a provocation.¹⁷ But according to the Inquisition his private teachings were different: Molinos claimed that transgres-

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 231.

¹² E. Michaud, *Louis XIV et Innocent d'après les correspondances diplomatiques 1682-83*. p. 453. Quoted by Stolpe (1959) p. 247.

¹³ Sven Stolpe (1959) p. 244, 258.

¹⁴ Sven Stolpe ed., *Les Sentiments heroiques* 1959. Introduction p. 11.

¹⁵ Sven Stolpe, (1959) p. 247.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 249.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 238.

sions perpetrated while in the state of Quietist receptivity are not sins because no consent is present—"in some perfect souls, even though not inspired, the demon inflicts violence on their bodies and makes them commit carnal acts, even in wakefulness and without the bewilderment of the mind, by physically moving their hands and other members against their wills."¹⁸ This could apply to two persons at the same time, for example in a man and a woman, but contrary to the will of both and hence not be a sin. Molinos apparently admitted having been involved with several of his followers in this way. More indubitably incriminating, he also had published a pamphlet addressing the problem.¹⁹ Similar ideas on absolution of sexual arousal have been expressed by other Spanish mystics, and historians have suggested that the doctrine was part of a Marrano reform movement for integrating male and female monasteries. Christina herself defends this fatal heresy with the direct comment: "Chi sta' veramente unito con Dio certamente non puol peccare sin che perseura in si felice stato."²⁰ Instead of being a peripheral consequence of a pietist doctrine, it is likely that this opinion was an important aspect of Molino's therapeutic practise. In my view, this aspect of the Inquisitorial records indicates that instead of facilitating Christina's final embrace of Catholicism, Molinos rather seems to fit in a sequence of influences on her that began with Bourdelot's libertinism and Isaac La Peyrère's heterodox doctrine on the relativity of Adam's sin.

While Christina's early heterodoxy involved an expansion of the individual self, either as Libertine "fort esprit" or as a judaizing rejoicing for the "messianic saviour", Molinos offered an "auto-destruction of the 'I'" that effectively disposes of unfulfilled desires and memories: "This seven-headed beast of self-love must be beheaded in order to get up to the top of the high mountain of peace." He compared his method of internal recollection with Jacob's struggle with God and said it was necessary to take the steps "up to the chamber of the pacific King, and the true Solomon."²¹ In practice, Molinos based his therapeutic confessional system on a non-Cartesian model of the mind that admits impulses contrary to the conscious will, and his success seems to have depended on his ability to relieve guilt feelings in his followers. The Quietists' practice of confessional writing was a methodo-

¹⁸ J. Colman Barry (ed.), (1985). Innocent XI: "Coelestis Pastor": no. 41, p. 277.

¹⁹ Sven Stolpe (1959) pp. 244–245.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 251.

²¹ Miguel Molinos (1885), Part I, Ch. II, p. 74. Part II, Ch. XV, Part II p. 118.

logical novelty for following up his doctrinal suggestion that bodily desires should not be suppressed. By arguing that the demon's operations did not affect the core of the afflicted personality, he avoided the Catholic doctrine of corruption by original sin and its accompanying doctrine on demonic possession.²²

The Quietist doctrine of the individual's ability to achieve his or her goal in waiting for grace encouraged the abandonment of all the standard church practises, except perhaps communion, and thus posed a serious threat to the institutional Counter-Reformation church. Like the internalist Augustinianism of the Jansenists, the Quietists focused on the spirit that works within and that can arise only within, a doctrine that was defended by Protestant sects that simultaneously attempted to break with the institutional frameworks in Germany, Holland, and England. Accordingly, after the condemnation of Molinos, the *Guide* was translated by the German pietist Jacob Spener and the chronicler of illuminist heresies, Gottfried Arnold.²³ While most Protestants felt moved from within to participate enthusiastically in the restructuring of the world, the Quietists emphasized passive resignation to achieve a personal, fundamentally private and subservient release. Their break with organized institutions was not, at least not as far as we know, a way to prepare for a transformation of the world. An eventual Quietist transgression could be accepted and be forgiven while being seen as based on a reconciliatory state flowing from an assurance of seeing all things in God, a felicity that was neither caused by, nor ultimately required, any external change.²⁴

Christina thus seems to have moved from a state of Stoic autarky and pride, to accepting the possibility of a private redemption, that required nothing but her own effort to root out all conscious activity and desire. Stolpe sees Christina's *Autobiography* as an early exercise in repentance. He cites her comment "no crime is greater than to doubt" written in the margin of a novel, and tries to show how this insight leads to her later troubled need for Molinos' kind of "psy-

²² Compare Lesczek Kolakowski (1969).

²³ J. R. Armogathe, *Le Quiétisme. Que sais-Je? series*, Paris 1977.

²⁴ The notion of "Seeing all things in God" was developed by Malebranche as an epistemological notion to close the rift between mind and matter projected by Cartesian dualism. Whether the epistemological problems had any relevance for the mystics and whether Malebranche was primarily influenced by Augustinian mysticism, is debatable, but not decided. Pierre Bayle was of the opinion that Malebranche's doctrine comes close to the materialist World Soul of Democritos. "que nous voyons toutes choses dans l'Etre infini, dans Dieu, n'est qu'un développement et qu'un réparation du dogme de Democrite." *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (ed. 1860) Vol. V, p. 473.

chootherapy". Yet, I think it is erroneous to emphasize her late spiritual passivity. Christina's practical and political life did not cease even in the very last years when she had to reduce her public involvement by physical necessity. Instead, I see Molinos as giving Christina yet another way to be unorthodox, a way of asserting her independence and direct election by God—expressed in the ever present idea of a personally elevating kingship.

Christina's central worry was generated, as Cassirer and Stolpe have argued, by her egocentric predicament. Her afflicted persona externally played with images of absolute grandeur, but inwardly, she was doubtful about the real character of her soul. The mystery of the Church, one can thus assume, was for her a personal mystery, a glimpse of which is made public by the image of how at her abdication she mediates royal power and divine grace to her chosen successor. When Christina doubted religion, she also doubted her own role as monarch. Her search for a satisfactory religion, rooted in childhood doubts on the existence of hell, led her to the conclusion that religion is a political construction. Yet, her *Maxims* show a continued obsession with her monarchical role, and possibly her Hermetic and neo-Platonist speculation on the mediation of spirit between the divine and the soul were aspects of her search for a way to restore the divinity in her legacy of kingship. John Milton was correct in 1652 when he wrote of Christina: "She may abdicate the Sovereignty, but she will never lay aside the Queen."²⁵ In the end, the reality of her role as abdicated monarch, originating in her renunciation of the divine pact between her kingship and her people, focused her thought on the remains of her supposed individuality—the nature of the illumined psyche.

The neo-Averroist Deism that Leibniz ascribes to Christina, based in the French libertinism of Bourdelot and Naudé, presented Aristotle's view of God as the first cause of the universe, but tends to restrict God's power to being the source of the quantum of motion necessary to set the material world system into motion. From the Averroists idea of a World Soul comprising all possible individuation evolved a Pantheism that implied a radical revision of the Christian conception of the creation.²⁶ Perhaps Leibniz' emphasis on Averroes' idea of the World Soul, as opposed to a neo-Platonic conception of the *Anima Mundi*, expresses this rejection of the trinitarian efforts of the early church fathers. The Deists saw that the chasm between God and Man, generated in Judeo-

²⁵ G. Masson, *The Life of Milton* 1877. Vol. IV, p. 599.

²⁶ Compare Leibniz' argument in Chapter IV of this book.

Christian mysticism, was an unnecessary neo-Platonic complication. Consequently, they argued that the Catholic theology of mediation between God and man was a myth, at best invented because of human hopes, but more likely invented as part of a political strategy to keep power in the hands of the established few. World Soul Deism resolved doubts about the dogma of hell and resurrection, but also posed the problem of what the status of the soul is within such a world. I have described how almost as an afterthought Averroes presents the idea of a celestial vehicle capable of individuating the soul in its merger with the World after the death of the body. The idea of a subtle vehicle operating within the bundle of souls forming the spiritual Cosmos was developed at length by the pagan neo-Platonists Iamblichus and Proclus, and is found in Gnostic, Hermetic, and Jewish Kabbalist teaching. Like the neo-Platonists, World Soul philosophy emphasizes the inner experience of the individual and its promise of fulfillment in a greater Spiritual whole. But where the Christian neo-Platonists reified this experience in a manifest set of redeeming symbols institutionalized by the Church, the more pagan World Soul tradition emphasized the esoteric realm of theurgy, a doctrine of inner development facilitating the individual's path to psychological release.²⁷

Thus, Christina's Quietism may have been a new turn of theurgy, a practical method for releasing the soul and achieving its unity with the Divine. The alchemical practise of transmutation had a similar goal, to achieve unity between self and cosmos by possession of the philosopher's stone, and in both versions the normal Church rituals had no significance for the adepts. Thus when the blind Quietist Francois Malaval praises Christina for having abandoned Hermes Trismegistus and the Platonists, it was not a sign of her conversion to a more orthodox truth, but rather was a step easily taken given her earlier metaphysics. Leibniz' interesting analogy between the Quietist acceptance of God as the only locus for action and Spinoza's doctrine of a single universal substance, brings to light the parallel developments of spirituality and pietism in Amsterdam and Rome. Although hidden by the rationalism of the *Ethics* (1677), Spinoza took a path from Juan de Prado's Deism towards "an intellectual love of God" that has Jewish neo-Platonic roots, but that also was inspired by the Colle-

²⁷ Alchemy and theurgy are closely joined in the Hermetic tradition; Philo's understanding of religion as purification and prophecy was taken up by Judaizer's like Bodin; the Averroists saw the world as material but as governed by celestial influences, that they in turn collapsed into an omnipresent World Soul.

giant and Quaker attainment of inner light.²⁸ As Leibniz indicates, an underlying shared metaphysics may explain why quietist piety developed in a variety of thinkers towards the end of the century. The Quietism of Molinos is understood not only by comparison to Spanish mysticism or Protestant illuminism, but also by comparison to contemporary northern mystics with Catholic backgrounds, such as Jacques Surin, Jean Labadie, and the Cartesian critic Pierre Poiret.²⁹ Interesting inter-faith connections are included in the Collegiant's circle at Rijnsbergh, where apart from Spinoza, Labadie, and Poiret, there were Amos Comenius and the female mystic Antoinette Bourignon who influenced Anna Maria van Shurmann, as well as Princess Elisabeth, who after her period of correspondence with Descartes protected the Herford spiritualists.³⁰

It is not yet clear what made these quietist transformations emerge. In his *Chrétien sans église* (1969), Leszek Kolakowski has gone a long way in documenting the parallels in European independent mysticism, and he emphasizes the social conflicts generated by opposition to the hierarchy of the ritualistic church.³¹ Stolpe noted that Christina's movement away from her early ethic of individual virtue fits a general trend in French literary culture and drama, developing from Corneille's Stoic Heroism to Racine's Christian Passion. Christina's abdication may even have suggested the theme of Racine's *Bajazet*. If there is an element of truth in these observations, one could assimilate Kolakowski's analysis of late seventeenth century mysticism to Lucien Goldmann's perception in his study *The Hidden God* (1964) that Racine's evolution mirrors the change of the "noblesse de Robe" into a wealthy and aristocratic, but, with the new absolutism essentially powerless, social class that adopts Pascal's Jansenist ethic of anguish and withdrawal.³²

Recent research in late seventeenth century ideology does, however, suggest that Kolakowski's and Goldmann's social analyses must be supplemented with more specific descriptions of the late century Christian culture, one element of which was the reaction against the mechanization of the world, both in ritual and in

²⁸ Richard H. Popkin, "The Third Force in 17th Century Philosophy: Scepticism, Science, and Biblical Prophecy" 1983, pp. 35-65.

²⁹ For further references, see Michel de Certau (1986).

³⁰ In early 1655, Princess Elisabeth travelled from The Hague to Antwerp in order to get an audience with Christina; she never came close to the Queen, however. C. Burenstam (1891). For more details on the Elisabeth's development after her Cartesian period, B. Neveux, *Vie spirituelle et vie sociale entre Rhin et Baltique au XVIIe siècle*, Klincksieck, Paris 1967.

the emergent culture of commerce. The roots for Amsterdam quietism, have in a number of recent analysis been connected, not directly to economic changes, but to the breakdown of midcentury expectations for the millenium and its accompanying doctrine of restitution, that then because of political despair, was thought must have to take place in the heart of the individual.³³ Although it is a topic requiring a much larger study than attempted here, it is possible that Rome in the times of Turkish incursion and French Absolutism, may have provided a similar social ferment for spiritual personalism.

In 1683, the year of the siege of Vienna, Malaval writes in a letter to Christina that God in the days of interior tribulations tries the souls of the most heroic. He presents Quietism as a prelude to peace, and asserts that no other doctrine is "si solide, si pacifique, si unissante".³⁴

While Molinos' *Guide* is almost wholly concerned with the interior realm, he does assign special importance to the acts of one man: Gregory Lopez, Molinos' Spanish-Mexican mentor, who as "an incarnate Seraph and Deified man" for three years interiorized Jesus Christ as the Tabernacle of Divinity and finally uttered prophetically: "Thy will be done in Time and in Eternity."³⁵

It is not certain that these incidents show that Quietists also had an individual messianic eschatology, or even that they thought their internal change ultimately would overcome the difficulties of the many failed attempts at ecclesiastical pacification. Yet, the problem of the connection between Quietist internalism and political theology and messianism remains a valid one.

In the meantime I believe that Christina's World Soul philosophy is the bridge between her early libertinism and her late mystical practice. Stolpe's construal of a conversional break between her Stoicism (that in large part was the conventional ethos of the time) and her Quietism, formed by an insight into the barrenness of the soul without God and confirmed by Catherine of Genoa's description of the soul in purgatorio, conceals and wrongly dismisses Christina's consistent involvement with a monistic metaphysics that for about a decade facilitated her Quietist practice.

³¹ Leszek Kolakowski, (1969) esp. pp. 44-45.

³² Lucien Goldmann, *The Hidden God—Studies in the Tragic Vision of Pascal's Pensees and in Racine's Theatre*. New York 1964.

³³ Richard H. Popkin (1983).

³⁴ Francois Malaval to Christina 17 Aug 1683, Azzolino-collection. Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

³⁵ Miguel Molinos (1885), Part I, Ch XV, p. 57. Arnauld D'Andilly translated the Life of Gregory Lopez into French in 1694.

FINALE

AFTER IMAGES

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

CHRISTINA ALEXANDRA: WOMAN, RULER, AND THE LOST DOMINION

Was Christina's crisis in 1648, as Stolpe suggests, a solitary realization that she was different from other women, and more painfully, also from the men she was trying to emulate? Is it not odd that her *Autobiography* recounts how at her birth the midwives at first interpreted "her strong voice" as a sign of what the King so desired—a boy?¹ Did not Christina's memory of her neurotic mother mingle with a "deadly aversion" to "the pack of dwarfs" in the Queen's entourage to conceal a belief that she herself, because of her difference, could not bear a child?² Can one not place these confessions of the psychological root of her solemn declaration to the council that she refused to marry? Finally Stolpe asks, did not the Catholic image of the Virgin Mary give Christina a symbolic justification for her subconscious fears?³

Christina's psychohistory is fraught with problems that a series of biographers have resolved by postulating a dramatic tragedy that already seems implicit in the myth derived from selected events in the life of "Christina, Queen of Sweden". This peculiar line of biographical commentary began with Christina's contemporaries who had to accommodate not only a Queen without territory and a convert without belief, but also a woman of a power and dominion no longer legitimized by the mystery of sovereignty. Her unexpected flight on horseback, three weeks through the country, in men's clothes and under the code name "Count Dohna", was immediately considered to be "a fantastick trick" for an unknown and curious end. In August 1654, an observer wrote:

We hear strange stories of the Swedish queen with her Amazonian behaviour, it being believed, that nature was mistaken in her, and that she was intended for a man, for in her discourse, they say, she talks loud and sweareth notably.⁴

In a sense, Christina fulfilled the Baroque ideal in the neo-classic drama of Corneille and the rising feminist literature that through

¹ Sven Stolpe (1959) p. 59 ff, (1981) pp. 62–67.

² *Ibid.* (1959) p. 72, (1981) pp. 70–73.

³ *Ibid.* (1959) pp. 83–88. (1981) pp. 168–171.

⁴ John Thurloe, *State Papers* 28/18 Aug. 1654 vol. V. p. 451.

classical imitation brought forth the image of “La Femme Forte”: the Warrior Woman who, like Judith with Holofernes, decapitates or cunningly triumphs over weak and helpless men.⁵ Zenobia, Thomiris, Semiramis, Pentheiselea, Cleopatra, Lucretia, were now revived in works designed to establish a classical heritage for the heroic woman. Christina played along with these images, and they probably helped define her role as sovereign.

Christina nevertheless rejected the feminine quality of this heritage and she understood that the Amazon Queen never had existed. She wrote in her Maxims: “Je ne trouve rien ni plus sotte n'y de plus ridicule que la republique des Amazones. Cette fable est mal inventée.”⁶ So although she was completely absorbed by the legend of Alexander the Great she refused to accept the one place in it where women are given an active role. In the same way she claimed that Thomiris, the woman slayer of Cyrus, was a fiction.⁷ Perhaps her attitude was more a sign of cynical clarity than a resigned subjection to social facts. Still, an extensive reading of the section on women in the Maxims reveals a peculiar quality of self-hatred and misogyny. She disdained women’s culture as it was. She wrote that “Women’s ignorance, their mental, bodily, and spiritual weaknesses make them unfit for the Princely calling,” thus approving of the Salic law, that age old document that was part of French constitutionalism.⁸ The passages that are marked by a contempt for women’s culture stress the irresolute among women that make them enter the marriage contract. Women marry only to gain freedom, Christina wrote, and continued that it is a strange kind of freedom when people are entitled to their own keys, yet are imprisoned as if by a miracle. In the darkest passage she exclaims:

Le sexe feminin est d'un grand embarras et d'un grand obstacle a la vertu et au merite. Ce defaut [de la nature/crossed out] est le plus grand qu'on sauroit auoir, il est presque incorrigible et peu de personne se sont tirées avec honneur de set embarras.

⁵ For discussions of Le Moyne’s *Gallerie des Femmes Fortes*, see Ian Maclean, *Woman Triumphant* 1977, Chapter 8. Christa Schlumbohm, “Die Glorifizierung der Barockfürstin als ‘Femme Forte’” in *Wolfsenbüttler Studien zur Barock Kultur* Vol. II pp. 113–122. Renate Baader, “Die verlorene Weibliche Aufklärung—Die französische Salonkultur des 17. Jahrhunderts und ihre Autorinnen” in Renate Möhrmann ed. *Frauenliteratur* 1985, pp. 58–82.

⁶ Sven Stolpe ed., *Les Sentiments heroiques* 1959. Note 67 to Maxim no. 358.

⁷ *Ibid.* no. 427.

⁸ Magnus von Platen ed., *Kristinas Självbiografi* Stockholm 1967. Chapter IX, p. 75. Sven Stolpe (1959) no. 356, 358.

⁹ *Ibid.* no. 357.

Stolpe reads such passages as a sign that something is gravely amiss in Christina's psyche. He points to her belief that she was of a "dry and hot" temperament, and affirms that she was aware of her androgenous qualities according to Galenic medical typology. He also thinks that this classification indicates that Christina believed she could never bear a child, for lack of natural "coldness and moisture".¹⁰

Stolpe continuously strove to demonstrate that Christina moved away from libertine ideas, and he traced her embrace of Catholicism to the influence of Cardinal Azzolino. After her meeting with Azzolino in Rome 1656, Christina exchanged, Stolpe claims, her role as sovereign Queen for the role of submissive and devoted woman. The resulting humiliation to her pride from his rejection of her approaches, is the first premiss in Stolpe's story of how Christina was led to repentance and Quietism. Undoubtedly, Christina's love for the Cardinal seems to have been intense. She wrote him several letters a day from Hamburg while she was campaigning for the Polish throne. In one of these letters Christina pathetically pledged herself as a slave to be forever chained to Azzolino's chariot.¹¹ The Cardinal's character must, as Stolpe notes, have been of some complexity because he tolerated a friend's jokingly writing him that Christina had made such an impression in her recital of a role as Diana, that apparently he almost said to her "Madame, quoiqu'on m'appelle Lasca, je crois en vérité que je ressemble plus au Cefalo [phallus]."¹²

Stolpe's identification of the causes for Christina's reversal fits the tradition of Leopold von Ranke's "Digression Concerning Queen Christina", in his history of the Popes, in which he scrutinizes Christina's rejection of marriage. By consciously rejecting Christina's claims to independence, von Ranke initiated the historical tradition that Christina's problem can be reduced to a case of feminine hysteria:

But could such a forced position be maintained? Was there not something overstrained, extravagant? Without doubt it was utterly wanting in that equipoise needful to a healthy state of existence, the tranquility of a natural being, content with itself.¹³

¹⁰ Sven Stolpe (1959) pp. 61–66, (1981) pp. 68–70.

¹¹ Carl Bildt, *Christine de Suède et le Cardinal Azzolino* 1899. 26 Januari 1667, p. 305.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 64. quoted in Sven Stolpe (1959), p. 212.

¹³ Leopold von Ranke, *The History of the Popes* 1906. Book VII, Ch. 9. pp. 351–371. Esp. p. 357.

This narrow tradition concentrates on her confessed “positive aversion”, but never considers the transactional nature of dynastic marriage or Christina’s justified fear that she would lose power (and thereby her life’s *raison-d’être*) with any marriage. From this perspective, von Ranke set the stage for a historical drama with his claim that in the conversion Christina “had recourse to a mysterious artifice, such as in all other cases, are resorted to only in affairs of love and ambition; she formed, as it were, an intrigue to become a Catholic. In this she proved herself to be a real woman.” Von Ranke claims that with the turn to Catholicism, Christina “thus satisfied the desire for self-devotion natural to woman” and leaves the reader with the undeveloped insight that this is grounded in “an unconscious emotion that must be concealed, lest it be condemned by the world.”¹⁴

As I point out in my chapter on the Queen’s encounter with Descartes, Cassirer’s characterization follows von Ranke’s. Even in Stolpe’s attempt to “rescue” the abdicated Queen from her libertine fame, the dissonance of Christina’s assertion of independence remains. It is significant that the long tradition of suspicion about Christina’s androgenous behaviour culminated in 1937 when Elis Essen-Möller wrote a medical biography based on various evidence, including the heritage of psychological abnormality in the house of Wasa, that he took to show that she may have been a hermaphrodite.¹⁵ Was not this conjecture warranted by poetical puns such as the Salon verse from before 1664: “*Cette fille est le plus grand Homme, Qui jamais fut dans l’Univers?*”¹⁶ Did not, Essen-Möller asks, her psychological virility correspond to a bodily deformation? In 1967, at the opening of Christina’s sarcophagus, Carl H. Hjortsjö more or less refuted this clinical speculation by performing an osteological study of her remains, and concluded that her bone-structure had typical female traits.¹⁷

Not until most recently have writers altered the emphasis from the young Queen’s aberrant psychology to consider Christina’s life

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 361.

¹⁵ Elis Essen-Möller, *Drottning Christina—en människostudie ur Läkaresynpunkt* 1937. Also his “*La Reine Christine. Etude médicale et biologique*” *Hippocrate* 1937.

¹⁶ Jean-Michel Pelous, *Amour Precieux, Amour Galant (1654–1675) Essai sur la représentation de l’amour dans la littérature et la société mondiales*. Librairie Klincksieck, Paris 1980. p. 90.

¹⁷ Carl Hermann Hjortssjö, “Queen Christina of Sweden, A Medical/Anthropological Investigation of her Remains in Rome” *Acta Universitatis Lundensis* II no. 9. Gleerup, Lund 1966. Also “The Opening of Queen Christina’s Sarcophagus in Rome” in Magnus von Platen ed. *Queen Christina—Documents and Studies* 1966. pp. 138–159.

as an example of how a woman who acts in the political, theological, and juridical sphere came to be treated as an anomaly. The anomaly provides the drama and hence is rather added to than destroyed by an analysis of her problems in coping with this male dominated reality, or how her interiorization of male attributes affected her judgment of other women to the point of derision. In this ultimately self-reflexive contempt, her tragedy begins and ends. But one should not forget that while her late maxims record her misogynist conclusions, it is clear that she had earlier believed in her own right to power. She had been able to emulate the experiences of Elisabeth I of England through reading William Camden's biography and, as I have shown, in the Polish campaign she referred to other female rulers.¹⁸ But she did not generalize from these cases because her self-centered pride did not allow her to see her own actions as a refutation of the general exclusion stated by the Salic law. She even went so far in rejecting her early life in a communication with the young Greek scholar Anne Le Fèvre-Dacier, as to suggest that while Anne must have used a secret charm to accommodate the Muses with the Graces, there was no warrant for her scholarship on Marcus Aurelius.¹⁹ Christina's lack of confidence in women was probably also influenced by the failures and rejections that also fomented her late Quietist tendency. It is suggestive to compare her development to that of another of Christina's acquaintances, the polyglot scholar Anna Maria van Schurmann from Utrecht, who in an early work in scholium form had addressed the question: Can a girl, without danger, educate herself? In spite of this brilliant approach, van Schurmann later became a Pietist and affirmed that education must not alter women's modesty and devotion.²⁰

"Qui dit femme, dit un chose dependent" we read in Antoine de Courtin's anti-feminist treatise written some years after his service as secretary at Christina's court.²¹ "He who says woman, speaks of a dependent object"—Courtin's slogan is only one example from seventeenth century moral thinkers who argue that female subordination is a natural law based on the interior dispositions of women. Courtin further concludes that "puisqu'elle n'est femme que pour

¹⁸ M. L. Clark, "The Making of a Queen: The Education of Christina of Sweden" *History Today* 28, 1978 pp. 228-235.

¹⁹ Arckenholtz (1751), Vol. II pp. 187-189. Christina to Anne Lefèvre-Dacié 22 May 1678.

²⁰ Joyce Irwin, "Anna Maria van Schurmann—from Feminism to Pietism" *Church History* 46, 1977 pp. 48-62.

²¹ Antoine de Courtin, *Traité de la Jalouse* (1674) p. 387. Quoted in Paul Hoffman, *La Femme dans la Pensée des Lumières* 1977. p. 35.

être mariée".²² Christina's rejection of marriage, while perhaps based on what she called a "positive aversion", was not only a dislike of a certain type of social institution, but also was a rejection of the prevalent definition of womanhood and its ontological and moral implications.²³ Regardless of the "truth" of the insinuations, it is clear that Christina as a psychologically androgynous person, as an outsider to conventional social forms, finally came to be represented as a symbol of deviant sex—an image contemporary with other libertine advances made as a result of the religious wars. For most of her contemporaries, her role as independent woman was simply too difficult to emulate without dissonance. On the road to Hamburg in 1654, the wife of the Portuguese ambassador della Cueva thus thought that Christina in her male attire definitely must have been ridden by a succubus, some species of an evil demon.²⁴

Other tendencies of her time instead facilitated her acceptance: In the calamities of the Paris Fronde in 1648, women made claims to more active social roles. In these often Epicurean and aristocratic circles, women like Madeleine de Scudéry started to write about women's inferior place in marriage relations. In her *Discours pour et contre l'Amitié tendre* (1653) and her cycle *Clélie* (1654–1660), she attempts to carve out a realm for women outside of the family, a realm of passion and poetry, conversation and politesse.²⁵ The French feminine movement of preciosity often centered on the dependence created when women's relations with men are confined to the purely erotic. In her many voluminous novels, de Scudéry defined the new image of preciosity that emphasized the Platonic and refined aspects of love, as opposed to a cruder and unsublimated eros. Chastity was, as with the Baroque revival of Sappho, considered to be the guarantee, not of passive girlish piety, but of Stoic fortitude, spiritual growth, and mental virtue, an exalted price for the "honnête-femme".²⁶ While personified in Madeleine de Scudéry's novels, Christina had in her alienated position, with no real relation to most women's lives, little sympathy with this movement. In 1656, the famous Epicurean concubine Ninon de l'Enclos could say to her that the women of Preciosity are the

²² *Ibid.* p. 349. Quoted in Hoffman (1977) p. 35.

²³ Outline for Christina's biography, recorded by Isaac Vossius in 1652, in Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. I.

²⁴ Anon. *Réceuil de quelques pièces curieuses* 1668. pp. 44–45.

²⁵ On Madeleine de Scudéry see Paul Hoffman (1977) and Ian Maclean (1977).

²⁶ Paul Hoffman, "L'Idée de la femme parfaite dans la deuxième moitié du XVII^e siècle" *Information littéraire* 29, 1977 pp. 55–62.

Jansenists of love—that is, she mocked their spirituality as overly austere and moralistic.²⁷ But Christina had earlier been drawn to the Catholic ideal of virginity and in the *Maxims* she saw chastity as a sacrifice and even martyrdom for God. Madeleine de Scudéry was more consistent. She never despised ordinary women, nor did she ever intend to follow the Catholic cult of virginity. She rather saw “*La Femme Forte*” as an antidote to women’s inconstancy, instability, and caprice—as a refutation of the *Aeneid* dictum: “*Varium et mutabile semper femina*,” so clearly assumed also in the myth of Christina as “*la Reine mouvementée et Scabreuse*.²⁸

Christina saw de Scudéry’s images as an opportunity to assert her preference of the ancients over the moderns. She played on the fashion of female emancipation by disseminating an image in her portrait painted by Jan van Egmont in Antwerp 1654. Here she stands as a Minerva with a sphinx on her helmet—at once alluding to her female strength and perhaps also to the revived Egyptian cult so favoured by the Hermetic-Rosicrucian craze.²⁹ Christina supported de Scudéry with some money and jewelry, but in her surviving letter she points to de Scudéry’s exposure of “the Tyranny of Usage” to complain about Rome’s views of Constantinople, thus forgoing the feminist implication of the French romantic novelist’s new imagery.³⁰ Christina’s *Maxims* instead go to the further extreme of a tormented flight from the feminine and an ultimately tragic identification with male classical heros, like Alexander the Great or Caesar.

For the wider circle, her case as an exalted ruler was notorious, particularly after the Monaldescho murder. Pamphlets such as *La Métémpsychose de la reine Christine*, showing how her soul had transmigrated from Astarte and other love Goddesses of the Orient in order to account for her supposed insatiable cruelty and lust, thrived.³¹ While the English Ambassador Whitelocke in 1653 had seen the Queen as a young girl trying to impress him with questions on Cromwell’s plans, later observers chose to be repulsed by her ways.³² In Paris, Madame de Motteville started a lasting chain of commentary on Christina with her shallow remark:

Elle n’avait ni le visage, ni la beauté, ni les inclinations d’une Dame. Au lieu de faire mourir d’Amour les hommes, elles les faisoit mourir de

²⁷ Arckenholtz (1751), Vol. I p. 547.

²⁸ Vergil’s *Aeneid* iv, 569. Quoted by McClean (1977).

²⁹ Christina—*Europeisk kulturpersonlighet* 1966. Item 546.

³⁰ *Ibid.* Christina to Madeleine de Scudéry 30 October 1687.

³¹ Curt Weibull, *Christina och Monaldescho* 1936. p. 96.

³² Bulstrode Whitelocke, *A Journal of the Swedish Embassy* 1855.

honte & de depit & fut depuis cause, que ce grand philosophe Descartes perdit la Vie de cette sorte, parce que'elle n'avoit pas approuvé sa manière de Philosophie.³³

Fredrick August of Braunschweig, on the other hand, claimed that never in his life had he met a woman with “autant d'esprit” with whom the conversation was so diverse, and that one would never be bored for a minute with her. She would not have any appeal to women though, the Prince added, as she openly despises them.³⁴ While perhaps having the wrong kind of vice in mind and while perhaps neglecting the force of Catholic censors, Madame de Longueville argued against the Monaldescho pamphlets that there is a better analysis: if there were improprieties concerning chastity, the charitable courtiers would not fail to publish them in detail.³⁵ The physician Guy Patin, who in 1656 saw Christina at the *Academy de France* in Paris summed up his viewpoint quite straightforwardly: “Elle a l'esprit fort présent. Elle n'est ni bête, ni bigotte, Elle n'aime ni femme ni fille.”³⁶ But in spite of such remarks, speculation on Christina's deviant nature continued.

The Catholic propaganda in 1656, with the leaflet of Christina as a nun triumphing over the heretic Queen Elisabeth, was so clearly a mistake that it invited satirical response.³⁷ Thomas Brown released a collection of comical letters, among them one called “Queen Christina, to the ladies” describing her as a lascivious representative of a degenerate Vatican, for a readership presumed to know already of Christina's reputation. Christina, “of the humour of Sappho”, yet enjoys her entourage of goat-like Catholics in the fiery underground.³⁸ In a similar set up, the two great Queens of the religious wars were satirized and made to appear as warning examples in the pamphlet *Entretiens dans le roiaume des morts entre les reines Elisabeth d'Angleterre & Christine de Suède* (Frankfurt 1719 and

³³ *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'Anne d'Autriche, Reine de France.* (1723) Vol I. pp. 387–390. Quoted by Arckenholtz (1751) Vol. I. pp. 88–89.

³⁴ Philip Bussoni, *Mémoires, fragments historiques et correspondance de Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans, princesse Palatin, mère de regent.* Paris 1832. p. 386.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Guy Patin, *Lettres* Vol. I. p. 175. 6 Oct 1656. At the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel there is, inserted in the German copy of the *Brieve Relation*, a silly joke: “Regina senza Corona; Donna senza vergogna [shame].”

³⁷ Reprinted in Jochen Becker, “Deas supereminent omneis”: zu Vondels Gedichten an Christina von Schweden und der bildenden Kunste” *Simiolus* vol. 6 1972–73. p. 202.

³⁸ Thomas Browne. “Letters from the Dead to the Living—Queen Christina to the Ladies” *Amusements Serious and Comical, Calculated for the Meridian of London.* Routledge, London 1927. p. 290 ff, esp. p. 293, also p. 221.

1742).³⁹ It is, however, impossible to know whether there was sexual innuendo in the song that circulated in Rome in 1686. It told of how Angelina, singer of Lyric verses, had taken residence in the Queen's palace:

La zelante Angelina/col suo cimbalon/
Per la sua Regina/vuol cantar la canzon/
Flon, Flon.⁴⁰

At any rate, it is remarkable how the tradition of recording the Queen's comments often lapsed into pornography. Reportedly this was because the Queen has this tendency herself. For instance, when she was walking in a gallery with a Cardinal in Rome, she commented on Bernini's sculpture of Truth in the form a naked girl, that it was good not all truths are marble. Showing her own art collection, with its Veroneses and Corregios, Christina asked "When you see these paintings, Father, don't they make you envious to take part in their pleasure?" Towards the end of her life, a moralist visionary from Lyon sent her a prediction of her sudden death, to be effected if she did not repent her sins and burn her filthy sculptures and paintings.⁴¹

With such curious events, Christina's story in the hands of clandestine writers developed into a celebration of intrigue and private vice. First on the scene was Gregorio Leti, whose *Il Puttanismo di Roma—The Whoredom of Rome* (1668–1669) speaks of a secret syndicate of women who have gathered to determine the Papal election after the tenuous reign of Alexander VII. Here Queen Ch., outstanding among the influential women at the court of Rome, speaks out in favour of Cardinals Azzolino and Maldaschi: while unbecomingly young their Popedom would last long enough to be influenced even by the lesser lights in the congregation. In turbulent debate, Queen Ch. manages to convince everyone that they must continue to dominate the Vatican, just as women have done under the last two indecisive and even sodomitc Popes.

With such precedence, eighteenth century thinkers were prepared for allusions of even greater purient interest. Diderot, for one,

³⁹ Sven Göransson, *Den Europeiska Konfessions politikens upplösning* 1956.

⁴⁰ Giorgio Morelli, "Una celebre 'Canterina' Romana del seicento—La Georina". *Studi Secenteschi* 1975. pp. 157–180. p. 163. Popular imagination also produced more direct allusion "Per ingravidor le Donne Bisogna C . . . dritti, ma non Colonne". MSS. E 406, Uppsala UB.

⁴¹ Anon. *Receuil de quelques pièces . . .* 1668. p. 53. Sven Stolpe (1981) p. 514.

hailed the flow of Christina memoirs and exclaimed his eagerness to see Lacombes promised (but forged) letters from the Queen “un peut trop libre” to her accomplices in the great Myth.⁴² When Arckenholtz began publishing four redeeming volumes of Christina material in 1751, d’Alembert immediately objected to their devoted dwelling on minute pieces of monarchical paraphernalia.⁴³ “History uninformed by philosophy is mere compilation,” d’Alembert exclaimed. Compilations of that kind merely invite the desire to collect reports of the really significant events of the last one hundred years and burn the rest. Naturally, Arckenholtz in the introduction to his fourth volume replied with acerbic irony that such criticism self-annihilates in the mouth of d’Alembert, who everyone knows is the grandest compilator of the century. Arckenholtz used over 800 printed sources and 900 manuscripts for his four volumes, which were put out in two installments financed by subscription. He was interested in Prosper Marchand’s project for a history of printing at the Hague and managed to obtain etchings on Minerva by Bernard Picart (1728) for his first two frontispieces. In the second volume he appended an anonymous contemporary panegyric where Christina is seen as the Queen of the Parnassus, protectress of “les Alexandres et Philadelphes”, i.e., the cosmopolitan set of learned readers, who revere the Queen as “leur Déesse tutelaires et la souveraine de leur ordre”. However, in 1753, the Danish writer Holberg objected to the exclusion of negative material concerning the Queen in Arckenholtz’ volumes. From his residence in Cassel, Arckenholtz’ tried to defend his edition by implying that Holberg—“M. le Censeur”—only became the political handyman of Denmark in not recognizing that it would require centuries to produce “une personne de son sexe” that could be her equal.⁴⁴ D’Alembert now wrote his *Mémoirs et reflexions sur Christine, reine de Suède* to shed light on the more obscure life of the ex-Queen, and also used the opportunity to consider the relation between Sovereign power and the recent string of departures of rulers from their thrones:

L’amour de l’oisivité, le désir de satisfaire en paix à des goûts vils ou subalternes, sont presque toujours les principes de leur abdication. Ils croient que rien ne leur manque pour régner que la volonté; aussi cette

⁴² Denis Diderot, *Lettres Complètes*.

⁴³ “Mémoirs et Reflexions sur Christine, reine de Suède” in *Oeuvres de d’Alembert* 1821. Vol. II. pp. 119–148.

⁴⁴ Arckenholtz (1751), Vol. IV. Introduction.

volonté renait-elle souvent en eux apres leur retraite pour en être le tourment.⁴⁵

In order to achieve an eclipse of popular flattery, abdications are staged as personal sacrifices, d'Alembert continued, yet monarchs hardly would enjoy their isolation if rulership had not been an overbearing responsibility. Christina's bombastic coronation coin for Charles X Gustavus (*A Deo et Christina*), inspired d'Alembert to assert that legitimate royal authority never derives from God, but from the consent of the people, which is authority's visible sign and which solely justifies its exercise.⁴⁶

Christina's anomalous role may thus have had a lasting impact in strengthening those forces that strove to undermine the Absolutist world-order, her case being a sure sign that Sovereignty under close scrutiny is, as all human events, grounded in mortal and fallible flesh. Even the royalist philosopher Pascal, put this insight on record in consideration of the recent regicide and abdications when he exclaimed:

Whoever had the friendship of the King of England, the King of Poland and the Queen of Sweden, would have believed it possible to need a place of retreat or exile anywhere in the world?⁴⁷

The enduring effect of Christina's character was neither to confirm a Catholic world view nor feminist aspirations. Rather her image was to provide fuel for irreverence, a delight for writers otherwise constricted to circulate around monarchs with a decorum so elevated that one could mistake it for Divine law. Thus in spite of Christina's retractions of her libertine ideas, her role as monarch without a throne in the end indeed had become, as she wrote, suggestive of a God without a Temple to which the devoted subjects had ceased to pay their tribute.⁴⁸ While she herself accepted a World Soul philosophy to sustain the essence of the decaying Temple, a multitude of the devoted had begun to articulate that with the breaking of the Temple, the monarchs no longer had the absolute right of dominion.

⁴⁵ *Oeuvres de d'Alembert*. Vol. II. p. 133.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 134.

⁴⁷ *Pensées*, ed. Lafuma 62/Kaplan 287. Quoted in Francis X. J. Coleman, *Neither Angel nor Beast* 1986. p. 227.

⁴⁸ Arckenholtz (1751), Vol. I. p. 532.

APPENDIX I

CHRISTINA'S WRITTEN COMPOSITIONS

In two collections dating from 1670 and onwards Christina worked out more than 1300 maxims. They exist in many variants, but were never published during her lifetime. In 1959, Sven Stolpe published an edition with 499 entries taken from a collection of Christina's maxims entitled *Les Sentiments* deposited at the Royal Library in Stockholm. Some of these, together with the history of Alexander and the reflections on Caesar, were published by Johan Arckenholtz, (1751), vol. II. Additional maxim-editions are found in the manuscript collection, H 258 bis, at Montpellier. For a recent perceptive analysis, see Monica Setterwall, *Scandinavian Studies* 57, 1985 pp. 162–173. The completed and unaltered edition in the Herzog August Bibliotek, Wolfenbüttel, has passed unnoticed by previous researchers. It is a late edition with references to the Turkish defeat at Vienna, in 1683. On 3 January 1697, Pierre Bayle wrote to M. de Bos saying that Christina's maxims are “aussi beaux que celle de M. La Rouchefoucault” and wondered why they had not been published. Her marginal comments on La Rouchefoucault's *Maxims* are reprinted in the edition of J. Truchet, Garniers, Paris 1967. pp. 599– 621.

Reflexions sur ma vie—an uncompleted autobiography, with a history of the house of Wasa, written around the time for the election in Poland, 1668.

Les Sentiments héroïques—a set of maxims started 1670. French Classicism and Stoic minimalism combine with Quietist invocations. It begins: “There is undoubtedly a God which is the principle and end of all things.”

L'Ouvrage de loisir—another set, subtitled *Les Sentiments raisonnables*. Unedited and mostly written before the Quietist period.

Reflexions diverses sur la vie & les actions du Grand Alexandre.—One interesting variant from the Montpellier collection H 258, vol. XV is reprinted in E. Meyer, “Drottning Kristinas Alexander”. *Samla-ren XI*, pp. 84–89. It reflects briefly on the passage of the four world monarchies: “Every age, and also ours, have not lacked a King who surpasses all.” (p. 87)

Les Vertues et vices de Caesar—together with the Alexander piece an imitation of Plutharch's Parallel Lives.

L'Hommage au Grand Cyrus—according to Stolpe covertly addressed to Cardinal Azzolino, but possibly instead to Le Grand Condé who died in 1687.

L'Arma antica della Suezia—a study of the sheaf of wheat and the three crowns on the Wasa shield from 1687. Christina argues for the purity of her Swedish roots. As she would have no offspring, her “iron hand” guided Charles Gustavus to the throne. Described by Marie-Louise Rodén, *Personhistorisk Tidskrift* (1989).

Il laboratorio filosofico-Paradossi Chimici—from ca. 1674. The manuscript is in Christina's hand, but are perhaps notes from, or a copy of, an alchemical manual.

La Pastorale D'Endymion composée par Alexandre Guidi sur les idées de Christine—an Arcadian dialogue on Time, Fate, and Love. For a study of these themes see Sven Stolpe, *Credo* 1959.

APPENDIX II

THE LIBERTINE PAMPHLETS

In their conversion statements, the Jesuits Malines and Casati argue that Christina only projected a blasphemous image in order to avoid being suspected of having converted. Sven Stolpe concludes that her blasphemy was a mere habitual rest from the martial atmosphere of her Swedish court. A cross examination of the following pamphlets, however, suggests that Christina not only came across to contemporaries in a libertine way; but that she also was one. In any case, her behavior raises the classic problem dissimulation and disbelief: she must have been able to dissociate conceptual argument concerning the non-validity of religious claims from her state of belief, positive or negative. I want to draw attention to the mysterious piece, *Le Genie de la reyne Christine*, no. 4 below, whose author does not share the intent of many other prints to smear the Queen in order to destroy the Catholic legend. Rather, he reports on Christina in order to perpetuate her libertine beliefs. The most controversial facets of her attitude here emerge as formed by a participation in intellectual debates where typically averroist and sceptical arguments were used. (For a fuller list of pamphlets published concerning the Queen, see C. G. Warmholtz, *Bibliotheca Svio-Gothica*. vol. 8. Uppsala 1801.) A central thesis of my investigation is that the clandestine pamphlets in 1655–56 had the political role of dissuading those who, like Count de Fuensaldaña, wanted Christina to influence the Spanish vice regentship in Brussels after the expected departure of Leopold Wilhelm. The best example of the love-rumours concerning Christina and Antonio Pimentel is the anonymous letter listed as no. 9 below.

1. *Receuil de quelques pieces curieuses, servant à l'éclaircissement de l'histoire de la vie de Christine*. 1668. This print contains material from 2, 4, 5, and 6 below.
2. Gilles Le Songeur (i.e. A. H. Saint-Maurice), *Brieve Relation de la vie de Christine de Suède, Jusques à la demission de sa Couronne, et son arrivement à Bruxelles*. n. p. 1655. This print is clearly a French Protestant statement intended to destroy Christina's Catholic image. It was clandestinely published in the Netherlands together with *Le Genie*, no. 4 below, yet the tone of the two tracts differ in character. The English version puts it that Christina is full of

obscenity, she wants to “call everything by its true name without any disguise, or that seasoning and grain of salt that modestie inspires,” she is in a habit of “using no circumlocutions but boldly speak out the word.” At Innsbruck, Christina was said to call the conversion ceremony a comedy. The piece was republished during Christina’s visit to Paris as, *Adieu des Francais à la Suède ou la demission de la Grande Christine et le Portrait de la Reine Christine 5 Nov. 1656*. Many statements signal that the author wants to defame her at any cost, such as the report of her “ridiculous choice” in Hamburg of “the house of a sworn enemy of Jesus Christ”, her banker the Jew Teixerá.

3. *Brieve descrittione della Vita di Christina, Regina di Suecia, L'Anno 1656*. Ms. Bibl. Vat. lat. 5370. This version of the above print blames Christina’s development on the arch-sceptic Bourdelot, who has no fear of God nor any belief, and who openly blasphemous religion and the Holy Scripture. Christina has been given out to be “una maraviglio del Mondo”, but in fact she has only given all the world a comedy. The author has spoken with a former servant of Christina (see below no. 6), who said in secret that he had debated with her for three or four hours on the divine essence, and on the plain precognition that she thinks reigns all over the world. (The Latin version of this pamphlet inserts at this point that she does not believe in paradise, the inferno, the Angels, the Devil, the resurrection, nor in the Judgement or the immortality of the soul. She also calls the incarnation a fable.) She demonstrates the sufficiency of her wits in being a “Mondo vagabonda”. Ends by stating that the Jesuits can affirm that she has been seduced by precursors of demons, spies who act with satanic means: Bourdelot and the Spaniards.

4. *Le Genie de la reyne Christine de Suède*. n. p. 1655. The author seems to have been inspired by Urbain Chevreau’s ballet *Les Liberalitez des Dieux*, danced in Stockholm in 1652, and the use of its imagery evokes the possibility that Chevreau was the author, as also Isaac Vossius was led to believe. Chevreau however denies this in his corrections to the *Chevreauana*, and instead attributes it to Saint-Maurice from Blois, who accompanied Saumaise’s son to Stockholm. Chevreau nevertheless emphasizes that Christina had no sense of justice and that she used the words of the dying Brutus: “Virtue is but a name and a wind.”

The pamphlet begins with a scene on how the gods convened at her birth in order to determine her personality (important since the belief in fate is a consequence of Averroist materialism). Christina

is influenced by Mercury and Mars, by Jupiter, and by Saturn, ruler of cold climates. She was in her youth a Minerva, but has now become a Venus. Wherever she goes, Mars will follow—but she prefers an errant and vagabond life over the glory of a throne. She is fond of citing the pun on the fable of Christ as of great use to the church and all monarchs.

Christina believes that Providence is equal to destiny and is determined to uphold five principles. These are: 1) One should love God, not fear him. We should instead fear the vile men and real devils in whom common people have such faith; 2) One must follow one's principles, and give no repentance or pardon; 3) Religion at present is but a poor illusion. Certain particular sentiments are good and sound, while the common ones are full of error; 4) There are no good arguments to refute the doctrine of the Universal Soul and there is no immortality except that after death the soul returns to its principle, Plato's "l'Ame Universelle du Monde"; 5) Moses was an impostor as well as "un bon esprit—a good wit." She openly doubts the biblical story of the miraculous passage of Moses through the Red Sea.

While the pamphlet undermines Christina's monarchical role—saying that she used her gifts to deceive the barbarous Swedes in the same manner as the religious Emperor Numa Pompilius deceived the Romans—the intent (unlike the tract it was first published with, no. 2 above) is not to downgrade her *per se*, but to report on her character as it has been perceived. The worst criticism it levels is that Christina has "an inclination that she has to change her sex into a more perfect . . . she uses the postures and fashions of men and will be fingering her moustaches as if she had some, thus expressing her strong ambition to be what she is not, and to be believed to be indeed so. . . . She strives to represent to us a gallant soul and a brave spirit, that would rather have been the inhabitant of a male body, than a woman's, because that sex is much raised above the other, and more proper for brave undertakings, that other having been, as it seems designed by Nature to more low employments, and such as are meanest in humane society." The author concludes: Must we not admit that amidst all these follies there is great bravery also? There was an immediate interest in spreading the pamphlet; there are French, Dutch, German, English and Latin prints and one Spanish manuscript version. The clandestine conditions for its circulation is signalled by the author's statement that "the place where I write is such that it permits me to speak."

5. *Copie d'un lettre écrite de Bruxelles à la Haye touchant la reine de Suède.* 1655. MSS. copies in the British Museum Library, London and Bodleian Library, Oxford. Christina is outwardly Catholic, but inwardly indifferent. She knows the wilest passages of Martial and Petronius Arbiter by heart, she speaks of sodomy as if she were going to be crowned at the Coliseum. In a Jesuit monastery she indicated to the Prior that he was desirous of the monks. She said that Madame Grimberg's many pregnancies could be likened to those of the Mother of Jesus, since St. Mary had only one child that came to be in a way we know not. The letter is hostile to Christina's Spanish aids, and depicts Pimentel, de Haro, and della Cueva as dangerous. Count Fuensaldaña tries to influence Philip IV to make Christina governess in the Low Countries by giving her the same authority as the former Infanta.

6. Sébastien Boudon de la Salle, *Souvenir de la reine Christine de Suède écrites de l'un de ses Gentilhomme de la Chambre.* Ms. 1653. She speaks of the Bible as a bagatelle, except for the Songs of Solomon that she holds to be full of docility. She debated for three or four hours with libertine arguments on the Divine essence and on Providence. She calls the Incarnation a fable.

7. *Icon Christinae, autore Salomone Preizac.* n. p. 1655. Bibl. Nat. Paris 7357 (8). A satirical description of the Queen at the time of her stay in Brussels and Antwerp. She has come to the Spanish Netherlands not only to stay, but to turn into its colors. She tries to emulate the image of the Sun, but its rays cannot conceal her spots.

8. *La Vie de la reine de Suède.* "Chez Jean Pleyn de Courage, Stockholm 1677." [Leiden? after 1677] Material from no. 3, 4, and 5 above and no. 9 below. Reports on the intrigues of the ungodly Bourdelot and intimates that Surreau, her surgeon, has been paid to restore her virginity after an abortion.

9. *Lettre d'un Gentilhomme Anglois, de la suite de Mylord Whitlock Ambassadeur du parlement d'Angleterre, vers la Reyne de Suède d'Upsal le 8 May 1654.* Ms. G. Kungl. Saml. 3328,40. ff. 8-17. Royal Library. Copenhagen. A letter in swift French, purportedly written by an English visitor during the spring of 1654. It analyses Christina's famous letter to Ambassador Chanut, 28 February 1654, especially her statement that "Il est malaise que ce qu'il y a de fort, de male et de vigoureux puisse plaire à un chacun". Her maxim "Satis est unus, satis est nullus", is used to indicate that Antonio Pimentel has become her lover, and their affair develops a drama like that

between Dido and Aeneas. Through the King of Spain, Pimentel has promised Christina “de luy donner un principauté, au Royaume de Naples”. Through her aid, Raphael Trichet du Fresne, Christina will see to it that “la chambre de rarités de Prague, avec cette illustre Bibliotheque” will be given back to the House of Austria. Christina is only willing to marry the Pope or God, as they are two good old men—as for God the Son, he has too much to do with the church—and she would have nothing to do with the Holy Spirit because of his coupling with the virgin. The surgeon Ezechius Surreau has been payed 30. 000 Rdr. to with the help of Countess Wachtmeister deliver Christina’s child, a daughter, with Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie. Much of the other information in the letter concurs with the uncensored recollections of Ambassador de Picques, published together with those of his predecessor, Pierre Chanut, in Paris 1675. The writer seems not, however, to be identical to the aid of M. Picques, the Jesuit *Langlois*, that Guy Patin mentions in a letter of 1 May 1654, “un homme d’espri qui en [of Christina’s abdication] écrit ici à un de ses compagnons assez particulièrement. Il est de la travestie et habille en cavalier, et se fait nommer M. de Saint-Hubert.” While the identity of the writer thus is uncertain, the details of the court and the dating of its episodes allow the letter to have been written in the period from Whitelocke’s arrival (with two sons and 16 men) in December 1653. Its last reported episode, in the aftermath of the duelling between Schlippenbach and Steinberg, occurred on May 19th, 1654.

10. Peder Juel’s Notebooks 23/12 1654, somewhat cryptically cites that Landgreve Fritz danced a ballet called “Les inclinations de la Reine Christine de Suède”. But the title was not printed, Juel adds. (What was meant?—debauchery?, Catholicism?, dominance?)

11. J. Carpentier de Marigny, *Lettre écrit de Rome touchant les motifs du voyage de la reine de Suède en cette ville du Sainte Siège*. 1656. Bibl. de L’Arsenal, Paris. ms. 4142. Also as *Lettre critique de la reine Christine de Suède*. 1657. Bibl. de Mazarine, ms. 2255. Written by a former visitor to the Stockholm court, the chief revolutionary aid to the Prince of Condé, who in 1657 translates the anti-Cromwellian tract *Killing No Murder* and who wrote the travesty *Le Pain Benit*, published after his death in 1677. Draws on, but differs from 2, 3, and 5 above. Christina pretends to arbitrate a peace between the masters of the world and thinks that the seven sages of the Greeks are unknown. (She lacks royal civility.) As soon as she came to Rome, her plans were to go to France. In meeting the Prince of Condé, she was like the Queen of the Amazones who violated the laws in order to get through to the tent of Alexander.

Christina is more ready to manage an intrigue at the brothel than to run a cabinet, and would render service with her person to whomever. She has a shallow understanding of everything. She doubts the incarnation of the word, and calls it the fable of the spirit. She has hired a Neapolitan, monsr. Colonne, as chef de son famille. This man is a Ganymede, a phoenix sodomite, a sacrificateur de Sodome, who claims to be “contente solamente dare confitti a miei paggi.” Christina is also enflamed by an ardent desire to test whether the souls of the demigods are more vigorous than those of the mortals, and wonders whether the people of “l'autre Monde” have anything to regret.

12. *La Métémpsychose de la reine Christine de Suède*. Paris 1657. A suppressed pamphlet cited in A. P. Faugère, “Journal d'un Voyage a Paris en 1657–58” p. 353, described by Weibull (1936) p. 96. Argues that the execution of Monaldescho reveals Christina to be as cruel and lustful as Semiramis of Assyria, who used to bury her soldier-lovers alive. Like Semiramis, who was the real founder of Babylon, she cross-dresses so as to make it impossible to determine whether she is a woman or a man. Her soul has transmigrated from Astarte, the ancient love godess of the West-Semitic Orient.

13. *Il concubinato scandaloso e pubblico in Roma del Cardinal Azzolino con la Regina di Svetia*. (1679) A libellous pamphlet against Christina and Azzolino and their intervention in papal politics, conclaves, and other elections.

14. *Receuil de quelques pièces concernant l'affaire des Quartier à Rome*. Chez Pierre Marteau, à Cologne 1687. Published after the Papal bull against the French Ambassador and his temporal refuge in the Church of St. Louis in Rome. Christina has hired a scandalous quartermaster, who is sought for murder and who is a friend of criminals and other people who lead a bad life. This raises questions: Who has sovereignty in Christina's palace and can one not doubt her piety?

*MANUSCRIPTS AND RARE SOURCES**Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*

Barb. lat.	4059	Discorzo Accademico sulla sublimita e charezza della dottrina di Aristote, detto alla Maesta della Regina di Svezia
	6463	Raphael Trichet du Fresne, f. 189–190.
	6487	Lucas Holstenius f. 26f.
	6524	Bourdelot, ff. 24–87.
	2009	Christina ad urbem ingredientem f. 86.
Urb. lat.	1692	Accademia della laeta di Svezia 1656.
	1706	ff. 197–280. Vita e more di Christina di Svezia.
Ottob. lat.	1744	Accademia 1674–1675.
	2140	Idem.
	2543	Accademia Reale
	2565–3100, 3396	Holstenius' mss. catalogue copies
Vat. lat.	10227	Accademia solenizzata nel real palazzo Giacomo II di Inghilterra
	8171	Vossius' Antwerp-catalogue of Christina's books
Chigi	C III. 69.	Orlando Cornero, Alexander VII A Deo Datus in montibus sperant Populi.
	E VI. 205.	Astrologica ff. 164–167, Nov-Dec 1655.
Chigi stampato.	III 467, ff. 171,	Astraea Regnans sub auspicij Alexander VII. (1655)
	V 2349, no. 33.	Predictions Merveilleuse du sieur Andreas, mathematicien de Padoue. (1654)
Reg. Lat.	430	Rabbi Samuelis Israelitae, De adventu Messia.
	443	Campanella, De Monarchia Messia.
	474	Bonaventura Pelligrini, Pretioso gioello dall' immenso e nascosto tesoro dell' ineffabile Tetragrammaton.
	470	Joachim di Fiore, Prophetiae de summis Pontificibus.

548	Marino Sanuto, <i>Secreta Fidelium Crucis</i> .
1145	Scuola Campanella, <i>lettera del maestro</i> .
1218	Veritas Hermetica. ff. 1-86.
1280	Cremonini, <i>De Generatione</i> .
1325	Pomponazzi, <i>De Incantationibus</i> .
1344	John Dee, <i>De Lapidis Philosophorum</i> .
1378	Si fa collegio di medici inanti Apollo, per saper la cagione dell'improuisa morte di Madama Serenissima reputation di Spagna.
1571	Massim. Palombara, <i>La Bugia. Rime Hermetici</i> .
Vat. Arab. 8	Athanasius Kircher, <i>the Psalms of David—De Templo Hierosolimitano a Salomone Constructo</i> .

Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris

Nouv. acq. Fr. 3930	Saumaise to Bourdelot, A. Morus, Bochart
4471	Chiffre de Saumaise, f. 251
5158	f. 189. Bourdelot to Bouillau, April 1653
13041	f.179, Sarrau to Saumaise, Nov 1653

Bodleian library, Oxford

Harley 243, 180/6	William Lilly, <i>Ashmole Astrologica</i>
Locke C 31 f.11 a-b.	Heinsius to Christina, December 1655.
d'Orville 42	2nd. version of Vossius' Antwerp catalogue (differs considerably from Vat. Lat. 8171).
224	Vossius and Beverlands notes to Lucretius' <i>De Rerum Natura</i> .
468-471	Copies of Vossius' correspondence in the University library Amsterdam (from the Remonstrant Kerk library). 4 vols.
Rawlinson 21	16 Dec 1654, Hannibal

Sehested to Whitelocke on
troupes in Flanders for
Christina and the King of
Spain.

c.522

Adrien van Beverland,
notes on a spurious rumour
that Vossius poisoned
Descartes.

British Library, London

Ms. Egerton 28,
Egerton 308,

Christina to Saumaise 1649–1653.
Istoria inedita del Card. Ximenes di
Flechier “Istorie della Sacra Real
Maesta”

Stefano Pignatelli,

La Belezza di Anima et la Bellezza
di Corpore. With Christina’s
marginal notes.

Archivio Storico Comunale, Jesi.

l’Archivio Azzolino 192, 2: 1 Christina Alexandra Svecorum
Regina Ode in qua Comete
novissimi presagia.

Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm

D 684: 3–7. Pesaro 1656–57.

Rar 13, Johannes Franck,

Zamolixdes cum Diis
Montanis . . . Borealis
Athenaeo, Uppsala 1651.

Bibliotheque de l’ école de medecine de Montpellier

Christina’s papers, maxims, letters and notes stolen from the
Vatican by Napoleon’s army under General Berthier in 1796.
Mss. H 258 (15 vols.) and H 258 bis. (2 vols.).

Riksarkivet, Stockholm

Azzolino samlingen

X, 1674

Pronostiques de la Reine Christine.

XI, 1683 no. 10. Extrait d’un lettre d’un très docte
controversiste [John Dury?] à son
Altesse le Prince Ernest de Hesse. Avec
de notes de la Reine. Regardent Grotius
entre autre.

Polonica I 1666–1669, IV 1678.

Alchimica, no. 10, 16, 20.

Astrologica, Nuova Pronostico l’anno 1665.

Uppsala Universitets Bibliotek

E 159u 38–39, E 406 Queen Christina 1654–55 ff.
N 478 Christian Ravius 1653–1658
P 8 Friedrich Menius, Pandora Sophica salve R. Christina 1639
T 340–342 Simon Wollimhaus, Zwölf Herz- oder Weltstunden . . .
1652
Nordin 55, 59, 66, 183, 185.
Nordström, notes and papers, boxes 4, 7–12.
Palmskiöldiana 42, p. 1375. Oath of allegiance, Amaranthe Order.
Waller autograph 365, François Mezeray to Chapelain, Bourdelot.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, Charles and Tannery, Paul. *Oeuvres de Descartes*. J. Vrin, Paris 1964–76.

Agrell, Jan. "Studier i den äldre språkjämförelsens allmänna och svenska historia fram till 1827" Uppsala Universitets Årsbok 1955: 13.

Ahnlund, Nils. "Drottning Kristinas tronavsigelse—några randanmärkningar". *Personhistorisk Tidskrift* 1943. pp. 196–214.

D'Alembert, J. R. "Mémoires et Reflexions sur Christine, reine de Suède" *Oeuvres de D'Alembert* Vol. II. Paris 1821.

Allen, Don Cameron. *The Legend of Noah—Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science and Letters*. Univ. of Illinois Press, Urbana 1949.

Allier, Raoul. *La Cabale des Devots 1627–1666*. Paris 1902. Slatkin Reprints Geneve 1970.

Almanso, Guido. "L'Esploratore Turco Di Giovanni Paolo Marana" *Studi Secentoschi* 1972.

Andersson-Schmitt, Margarete. "Biblioteksdebatten i Akademiska konsistoriet 1627–1694" *Acta Univ. Upsaliensis/Uppsala univ. 500 years*. 12 "I Universitetets tjänst", Uppsala 1977. pp. 19–30.

Anonymous, *Ethischer hohen Stands-Personen Liebesgeschichten*. Utopia 1670.

——— "Drottning Kristina i Hamburg 1654" *Historisk Tidskrift* 1894 pp. 22–26.

Arckenholtz, Johan. *Mémoires concernant Christine, reine de Suède pour servir d'éclaircissement à l'histoire de son règne et principalement de sa vie privée, et aux evenements de son tems civile et littéraire*. 4 vols. Leipzig & Amsterdam 1751–60.

Arnheim, Fritz. "Die Universal universität des Grossen Kurfürsten und ihre geistigen urheber" [Bengt Skytte] *Monatshefte der Comenius Gesellschaft*. Bd. 20. 1911. pp. 19–35.

d'Aumale, le Duc. *Histoire des Princes de Condé pendant les XVIIme et XVIIIme siècles*. Vol. vi. Calmann-Levy, Paris 1892.

d'Avenel, G. *Lettres de Cardinal Mazarin pendant son ministère*. Vols. 6–9. Paris 1890–1893.

Baillon, Comte de. "La reine Christine à Stockholm—Souvenir inédits de l'un de ses Gentilhomme de la Chambre" [Phillipe Boudon de la Salle] *Le Correspondent* vol. 76 Juillet-Auguste 1878. pp. 239–478, 654–667.

Banco, Lorenzo di *Bizzarrie Politiche ouer il Raccolta delle pinndabili Pratiche di Stato, nella Christianita*. Franchera 1658.

Barriónuevo, Jerónimo de. *Avisos de Don Jerónimo de Barriónuevo. (1654–58)*. Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles. vol. 221–222. Atlas Madrid 1969.

Barry, J. Colman. ed. *Readings in Church History*. 2 ed. Collegeville, Minnesota 1985.

Bartoli, Pietro. *Museum Odelaschum sive Thesaurus antiquarum Gemmarum* . . . Rome 1751–52.

Barudio, Gunther. *Gustav Adolf der Grosse*. Fischer, Frankfurt 1985.

Baruzi, Jean. *Leibniz et l'Organisation religieuse de la Terre*. Felix Alcan, Paris 1907.

Batten, J. Minton. *John Dury—Advocate of Christian Reunion*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago Illinois. 1944.

Bayle, Pierre. *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*. 2 vols. Rotterdam 1697.

——— *Oeuvres Diverses*. 6 vols. Reprint of the 1724 edition with an introduction by Elisabeth Labrousse. Georg Olms, Hildesheim 1964–1969.

Beaulieu, Armand. *Correspondence du P. Marin Mersenne, Religieux Minime*. Vol. XIV: 1646, Vol. XV: 1647, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Paris 1980, 1983.

Becker, Jochen. "Deas supereminet omneis": zu Vondels Gedichten an Christina von Schweden und der bildenen Kunste" *Simiolus—Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*. vol. 6 1972–73.

Berentcreutz, Nils. *Antonio Pimentels Depescher*. Historiska Handlingar 37:1. Stockholm 1961.

Bergh, Severin. ed. *Svenska Riksrådets protokoll 1651–53*. Stockholm 1920.

Bethancourt, Cardozo de. "Lettres de Menasseh Ben Israel à Isaac Vossius (1651–1655)" *Revue des Etudes Juives* 49, 1904. p. 98–109.

Betts, C. J. *Early Deism in France—from the so-called "deistes" of Lyon (1564) to Voltaire's "Lettres philosophiques" 1734*. Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Idees 104. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, Boston, Lancaster 1984.

Bignami Odier, Jeanne. "Christiniana" *Mélanges d'Archeologie et d'Histoire* 80 (1968) pp. 705–747.

_____ and Anna Maria Partini, "Cristina di Svezia e le scienze occulte" *Physis* 1981 pp. 251–278.

_____ and Giorgio Morelli, eds. *Anonymi dell'600: Istoria degli intrighi galanti della Regina Cristina di Svezia e della sua corte durante il di lei Soggiorno a Roma*. Palombi, Rome 1981.

Bindt, Carl. "Drottning Kristinas sista dagar" *Ord och Bild* 5 1896. pp. 53–66.

_____ *Christine de Suède et le Cardinal Azzolino. Lettres Inédits 1666–1668*. Paris 1899.

_____ *Svenska Minnen och Marken i Rom*. Norstedts, Stockholm 1900.

_____ "Christina di Svezia e Paolo Giordano II, Duca di Bracciano" *Archivo della Società Romana di Storia Patria* xxiv 5–32. Rome 1906.

_____ *Les Médailles Romaines de Christine de Suède*. Rome 1908.

Bjurström, Per. *Feast and Theatre in Queen Christina's Rome*. Nationalmusei skriftserie 14, Stockholm 1977.

Blanchet, Leon. *Campanella*. Alcan, Paris 1920.

Blekastad, Milada. *Comenius—Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk, und Schicksal des Janos Amos Komensky*. Universitetsförlaget, Oslo 1969.

_____ "Geniet i Stormaktenes spill" *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 1974 pp. 31–70.

_____ *Unbekannte Briefe des Comenius und seiner Freunde 1641–1661*. A. Henn Verlag. Ratingen, Kastellaun 1976.

Blok, Frans Felix. *Nicholaus Heinsius in dienst van Christina van Zweden*. Leiden diss. Delft 1949.

_____ "Contributions to the history of Isaac Vossius' library". *Verh. der k. Nederlandse Akad. van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde*. N. R. 83, Amsterdam 1974.

_____ "Review of Christian Callmer, 'Königin Christina, ihre Bibliotekare und ihre Handschriften'" *Querendo* vol. X:1 Winter 1980. pp. 70–77.

Blom, John J. *Descartes—His Moral Philosophy and Psychology*. New York Univ. Press, New York 1978.

Boeren, P. C. *Codices Vossiani Chymici*. Biblioteca Universitatis Leidensis Codices Manuscripti xvii, Leiden 1975.

Bøggild-Andersen C. O. "Dronning Christina" *Dansk Historisk Tidskrift* pp. 92–106.

Borst, Arno. *Der Turmbau von Babel—Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*. Band III/1. Anton Hiersemann, Stuttgart 1960.

Boxer, C. R. "Antonio Vieira S. J. and the institution of the Brazil Company in 1649." *Hispanic American Historical Review* vol. xxix, 1949. pp. 474–497.

Bray, Bernard ed. *Jean Chapelain—Soixante-dix-sept Lettres inédits à Nicolas Heinsius (1649–1658)*. The Hague 1966.

Breger, Herbert. "Elias Artista—a precursor of the Messiah in natural science" *Nineteen Eighty-Four—Science between Utopia and Dystopia* E. Mendelsohn and Helga Nowotny, eds. Reidel, Dordrecht, Boston, Lancaster 1984.

Bring, E. "Johan Ekeblads brev" *De La Gardiska Arkivet*. Vol 8–9, Stockholm 1835–37.

Brown, Harcourt. *Scientific Organizations in Seventeenth Century France (1620–1680)*. Baltimore 1934.

Browne, Thomas. "Letters from the dead to the Living—Queen Christina to the Ladies" in *Amusements serious and comical, calculated for the meridian of London*. Routledge, London 1927.

Burenstam, C. *La Reine Christine de Suède à Anvers et Bruxelles*. Stockholm 1896.

_____. "Drottning Kristina, Prinsen af Condé, Sobiesky mfl." *Till vår Hembygd. Minnesblad utg. af Södermanlands-Närkes Nation*. Stockholm 1897.

Burnet, Burnet. *Voyage de Suisse, d'Italie et de quelques endroits d'Allemagne et de France* . . . Amsterdam 1687.

_____. *The History of My Own Time*. London 1724.

Burmann, Pieter ed. *Sylloge epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum*. 5 vols. Leiden 1727.

Callmer, Christian. ed. *Claes Rålambh, Diarium under Resa till Konstantinopel 1657-1658*. Stockholm 1963.

_____. *Katalog över Handskrifterna i Kungliga Biblioteket i Stockholm skriven omkring 1650 under ledning av Isaac Vossius*. Acta Bibliotae Regiae Stockholmiensis, Stockholm 1971.

_____. *Königin Christina, ihre Bibliothekare und ihre Handschriften*. Acta Bibliotae Regiae Stockholmiensis, Stockholm 1977.

Canseliet, Eugene. *Deux Logis Alchimique: en marge de la science*. Paris 1985 (1945).

Capp, B. S. *The Fifth Monarchy Men—a Study in Seventeenth Century English Millenarianism*. Faber & Faber, London 1972.

Carel, E. *Vieira—sa vie et ses œuvres*. Paris 1879.

Cassirer, Ernst "Descartes' Dialog 'Recherche de la Verité par la lumière Naturelle' und seine Stellung im Ganzen der Cartesischen Philosophie. Ein Interpretations Versuch". *Lychnos* 1938. pp. 139-179.

_____. "Über Bedeutung und Abfassungszeit von Descartes' Dialog 'Rescherche de la Verité par la lumière Naturelle'". *Theoria* 4, 1938. pp. 193-234.

_____. *Descartes: Lehre—Persönlichkeit—Wirkung*. Behmann-Fischer Verlag, Stockholm 1939.

Celsius, Magnus O. *Kort historia över Kungl. Biblioteket i Stockholm*. 1751. transl. John Röhstrom. Acta Bibliothecae Regiae Stockholmiensis. Stockholm 1961.

Certau, Michel de. "Mystic Speech" *Heterologies—Discourse on the Other*. Theory and History of Literature vol. 17. Univ. of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1986. pp. 80-100.

Chevreauna, 2 vols. Paris 1697-1700.

Christianson, J. R. "Tycho Brahe's German Treatise on the comet of 1577". *Isis* 70 no. 251, March 1979.

Christina—Drottning av Sverige—en europeisk kulturpersonlighet Nationalmusei utställningskatalog 305. Stockholm 1966.

Clark, M. L. "The Making of a Queen: The education of Queen Christina of Sweden" *History Today* 28, 1978. pp. 228-235.

Clarke, J. A. *Gabriel Naudé, 1600-1653*. Archon books, Hamden Con. 1970.

Cohn, Norman. *The Pursuit of the Millennium*. New York 1959.

Coleman, Francis X. J. *Neither Angel nor Beast—the life and work of Blaise Pascal*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1986.

Comenius, Amos. *The Reform of Schooles* (1642) The Scolar Press, Menston, England 1969.

_____. *Natural Philosophy reformed by Divine Light or a Synopsis of Physicks*. Engl. Transl. London 1651.

Cottingham, John. Robert Stoothoff. Dugald Murdoch. *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes* 2 vols. Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge 1985.

Coudert, Allison. "Some Theories of a Natural Language from the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century" *Studia Leibnitiana* Sonderheft 7, Franz Steiner Verlag. Wiesbaden 1978. pp. 56-114.

Cousin, Victor. *La société Française au xvii. siècle I—Etudes sur les Femmes illustres*. 2 vols. Didier, Paris 1886.

Cristina di Svezia. Mostra di documenti Vaticani. Citta del Vaticano 1966.

Dahl, Folke. "King Charles Gustavus and the Astrologers William Lilly and John Gadbury" *Lychnos* 1932.

Daniels, Emil. "Christine von Schweden" *Preussischen Jahrbüchern* 96:3, 97:1, Berlin 1899.

Danielsson, Arne. "Sebastien Bourdon's Equestrian Portrait of Queen Christina of Sweden, presented to His Catholic Majesty Philip IV" *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, 1989: 4.

Desfeuilles, P. "Le Voyage en France de Christine, reine de Suède, en 1656". *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 43, 1929.

Domingues Ortiz, Antonio. *Los Judeoconversos en Espana y America*. ISTMO, Madrid 1971.

Droixie, Daniel. *La linguistique et l'appel de l'histoire (1600–1800), rationalisme et révolutions positivistes*. Droz, Geneve 1978.

Dülmen, Richard van. *Die Utopie einer Christlichen Gesellschaft Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654)*. Fromann-Holzbog, Stuttgart 1978.

Dury, John. *The Reformed Librarie-keeper* (1650). The Augustan Reprint Society. Publ. no. 220. 1983. Eds. Richard H. Popkin and Thomas F. Wright.

Ellenius, Allan. "Johannes Schefferus and Swedish Antiquity" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* vol. 20, 1967. no. 1–2, pp. 59–74.

— "Johannes Scheffer, Kristina Minerva och Fortuna Audax—En studie i politisk emblematis" *Lychnos* 1954–55.

Essen-Möller, Elis. *Drottning Christina—en människostudie ur läkaresynpunkt*. Gleerup, Lund 1937.

— "La reine Christine. Etude Medicale et Biologique" *Hippocrate* 1937.

Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Wolfenbüttler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung. I–II. Kongress 1979. Hrsg. August Block. Hanswedel & co. Hamburg 1981. Band 10 (iii).

Febure, Michel. *Specchio overo descrizione della Turchia dove si vede lo stato presente di essa, li costumi degli Ottomani, le governa e l'ana, e all'altra sette delle quali sono infedeli, e sette Christiani. Omne Turchi, Arabi, Curdi, Turchemanni, Iezedi, Drusi & Hebrei—Dedicata alla sacra Maestà regina di Svetia . . .* Roma 1674.

Fitzgibbon Young, Robert. *Comenius in England*. Arno Press, New York 1971.

Fletcher, John E. "Astronomy in the life and correspondence of Athanasius Kircher" *Isis* 1970. pp. 52–67.

Fontaine Verway, H. de la. "Michel le Blond, graveur, kunsthandelaar, diplomaat" *Drukkers, liefhebbers en piraten in de zievende eeuw*. Amsterdam 1980.

Franckenstein, Gottfried transl. *Histoire des Intrigues galantes de la Reine Christine de Suède et de sa cour, pendant sa séjour à Rome*. 1697.

Fries, Ellen. "Johan Klaesson Risingh" *Historisk Tidskrift* Stockholm 1896.

Fryxell, Anders (ed.). "Utdrag ur Registret öfver Danska residenten i Stockholm Peder Juel's Bref till sin Regering 1647–1655." *Handlingar rörande Sveriges historia*. I, 1836. pp. 86–105.

— *Berättelser ur Svenska Historien—X. Drottning Kristina*. Stockholm 1872.

Gabbey, Alan. "The Bourdelot Academy and Mechanical Philosophy" *Seventeenth Century French Studies* 1984, no. 6.

Gäbe, Luder. *Descartes' Selbstdiskritik. Untersuchungen zur Philosophie des jungen Descartes*. Felix Meiner, Hamburg 1972.

Gabriele, Mino. *Il giardino di Hermes—Massimiliano Palombara alchimista e rosacroce nella Roma del Seicento*. Editrice Janua, Roma 1986.

Göransson, S. "Sverige och de Synkretistska striderna i Tyskland 1649–1654" *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 1948.

— "Prästerskapet i kamp mot Drottning Kristinas naturrätsliga religionsfrihetsuppfattning" *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 1949.

— *Orthodoxi och Synkretism i Sverige 1647–1660*. Uppsala 1950.

— *Den Europeiska Konfessionspolitikens upplösning 1654–1660—Religion och utrikes politik under Karl X Gustav*. Uppsala Universitets Arsbok 1956:3.

— "Comenius och Sverige 1642–1648" *Lychnos* 1957–58, pp. 102–135.

Graetz, H. *Geschichte der Juden—von der daurnden Ansiedlungen der Marranen in Holland*

(1618) bis zum beginn der Mendelsohn'schen Zeit (1750). Leipzig 1897.

Grafton, Anthony. "Protestant versus Prophet: Isaac Causubon on Hermes Trismegistus" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. Vol. 46, 1983. pp. 78–93.

Grape, Anders. "Riksråd—Språkforskare—med anledning av ett par nyfunna brottstycken av Bengt Skyttes förlorade verk". *Bibliotcae Regiae Universitatis Uppsaliensis 1621–1921* Uppsala 1921. pp. 329–372.

— "Comenius, Bengt Skytte och Royal Society" *Lychnos* 1936. pp. 319–330. Uppsala 1936.

Grauert, W. H. *Christina, Königin von Schweden und ihr Hof* 2 vols. Bonn 1837–1842.

Guhrauer, G. E. *Joachim Jungius und sein Zeitalter*. Stuttgart und Tübingen 1850.

Hall, A. Rupert and Marie Boas Hall. eds. *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*. Madison, Milwaukee, and London 1965.

Hasselberg, C. J. E. "Anders Kempe och hans skrift *Israels Erfreulische Bot-schaft*" *Jamten* 1926.

Hervada, Javier. "The Old and New in the Hypothesis 'Etiam si daremus' of Grotius" *Grotiana van Gorcum*, Assen 1983. pp. 3–20.

Hill, Christopher. "Arise Evans: Welshman in London" in *Change and Continuity in 17th Century England*. London 1974.

— "Till the conversion of the Jews" in Richard H. Popkin (ed.), (1988).

Hinds, Allen B. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs. Venice*. London 1929–31. 1653–54, 1655. 1656.

Hjortsjö, Carl Hermann. "Queen Christina of Sweden, a medical/anthropological investigation of her remains in Rome". *Acta Universitatis Lundensis* II no. 9. Gleerup, Lund 1966.

Hoffman, Paul. *La Femme dans la Pensée des Lumières*. Paris 1977.

Irwin, Joyce. "Anna Maria van Schurmann—from feminism to pietism" *Church History* 46, 1977. pp. 48–62.

Israel, Jonathan I. *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism 1550–1750*. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1985.

Jacobowsky, Carl U. W. *J. G. Sparwenfeld—bidrag till en biografi*. Uppsala diss. Stockholm 1932.

Jacques, E. "Arnauld, Cassini et la Comète de 1680" *Lias* I 1974. pp. 5–20.

Johannesson, Kurt. *I Polstjärnans tecken—studier i Svensk Barock*. Lychnos Bibliotek 24, Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala 1968.

Jones, Howard. *Pierre Gassendi 1592–1655—an intellectual biography*. Bibliotheca humanistica et reformatorica vol. xxxiv. B. de Graaf, Nieuwkoop 1981.

Jordt-Jørgensen, K. E. *Stanislaw Lubieniecki*. Van den Hoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1968.

Kaplan, Yosef. *From Christianity to Judaism—the Story of Isaac Orobio de Castro*. The Littman Library, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1989.

Katz, David. S. "The Language of Adam in the Seventeenth Century" in Hugh Trevor-Roper, *History and Imagination: Essays in honor of Hugh Trevor Roper*. ed. Hugh Lloyd-Jones. London 1981. pp. 132ff.

— *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603–1655*. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1982.

— "Menasseh Ben Israel's mission to Queen Christina of Sweden, 1651–1655." *Jewish Social Studies* vol. xiv 1983. pp. 57–72.

Kellenbenz, Hermann. *Diego und Manoel Teixeira und ihr Hamburger Unternehmen*. Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial und Wirtschafts Geschichte Band 42, Heft 4, 1955.

— *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe—ihre wirtschaftliche und Politische Bedeutung vom Ende des 16. Bis zum beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial und Wirtschafts Geschichte, Beiheft 40. Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden 1958.

Keyserling, Meyer. "Menasseh ben Israel und die Königin Christine von Schweden" *Hamazkir—Hebräische Bibliographie*, ii, (1859). iii, (1890).

Klemming, G. E. "Joh. Thom. Burei Skrifter" *Samlaren* 5 1884 pp. 5–35.

Kolakowski, Leszek. *Chrétiens sans Eglise—la conscience religieuse et le lieu confessionnel au 17:e siècle*. Gallimard, Paris 1969.

Körner, Robert. "Christina, Konigin v. Schweden in Hamburg [1654] *Hamburgische Kirchenblatt* 5, 1908 pp. 226–230, 237–239, 244–247.

Kottman, Karl A. *Law and Apocalypse: the Moral thought of Luis de Leon (1527–1591)*. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague. 1972.

— "16th and 17th century Iberian controversy over St. Thomas' Theory of *Jus Gentium* and Natural Law: the interpretation of Antonio Vieira, S. J." Atti della congresso Internazionale n. 8. Vol. II, *L'UOMO*.

Kuntz, Marion L. (transl.) *Jean Bodin—Colloquium of the Seven about Secrets of the Sublime*. Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton 1975.

— *Guillaume Postel—Prophet of the restitution of all things—his life and thought*. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague 1981.

— "Guillaume Postel and the World State: Restitution of the universal Monarchy, Part II" *History of European Ideas* IV, 1983. pp. 445–465.

Labrousse, Elisabeth. *L'Entrée de Saturne au Lion—l'Eclipse de Soleil du 12 Aout 1654*. Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Idées, series minor 14. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague 1974.

Lavin, Irving. "Bernini's Death" *Art Bulletin* 1972, pp. 159–186.

Lea, Henry Charles. *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*.. vol. iv. Macmillan, London 1922.

Leibniz, G. W. *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*. Akademie Ausgabe, (20 vols. 1923–1985). Darmstadt, Leipzig, Berlin.

Lekeby, Kjell. "Till frågan om Drottning Kristinas konstitution och äktenskapsvagran—ett astrologisk-medecinskt manuskript från 1650-talet" *Lychnos* 1987.

Lemoine A. and Lichtenberger, L. *Trois Familiers du Grand Condé*. Champion, Paris 1909.

Lennep, Jacques van. *L'Alchimie—Contribution à l'histoire de l'art alchimique*. Dérvy-Livres, Credit Communal Belge. Bruxelles 1985.

Leroy, Maxime. *Descartes—Le Philosophe au Masque*. 2 vols. Rieder, Paris 1929.

Leti, Gregorio. *Il Puttanismo di Roma—the Whoredom of Rome* . . . transl. London 1669.

Levesque de Burigny, Jean. *Vie de Grotius, avec l'histoire de ses ouvrages etc.* 2 vols. Paris 1752.

Lilly, William. *Monarchy or no Monarchy*. London 1651.

Linage de Vaucienne, P. *Mémoires de ce qui c'est passé en Suède, et aux provinces voisins, depuis l'année 1645 jusque en l'année 1655. Tirez de dépêches de M. Chanui [and those of M. Piques]*. 3 vols. Paris 1674.

Lindroth, Sten. *Paracelsismen i Sverige till 1600-talets mitt*. Lychnos bibliotek 7, Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala 1943.

— *Svensk Lärdomshistoria—Stormaktstiden*. Norstedts, Stockholm 1975.

Linton, Olof. "Skapelsens år, månad, och dag" *Lychnos* 1932.

Loemker, L. E. *Leibniz—Philosophical Papers and Letters*. 2 ed. Reidel, Dordrecht and Boston. 1970.

Losman, Arne. *Carl Gustav Wrangel och Europa*. Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala 1980.

Lotti, L. *Cristina di Svezia, L'Arcadia e il Bosco Parraiso*. Roma 1977.

Maclean, Ian. *Woman Triumphant, Feminism in French Literature. 1610–1652*. Oxford Univ. Press. Oxford 1977.

Magne, E. *Ninon de Lenclos*. Paris 1927.

Mahoney, Michael Sean. *The Mathematical Career of Pierre de Fermat (1601–1665)*. Princeton, NJ 1973. p. 24, 409.

Maillard, Jean-Francois. "Literature et Alchimie dans le *Peruviana de Claude Barthelemy Morisot*" *Dix-Septième Siècle* 1978 pp. 171–184.

Marana, G. P. *Letters writ by a Turkish Spy*. 8 vols. Engl. transl. London 1691.

Masson, G. *Life of Milton in Connexion with the History of his Time*. Macmillan, London 1877–1881.

Mastellione, Salvio. *Pensiero politico e vita culturale a Napoli nella seconda metà del secolo*. Biblioteca del Cultura Contemporanea LXXXVIII. Casa ed. G. D'Anna. Messina-Firenze 1965.

Mayr, Karl. *Pfalz-Neuburg und das Königreich Neapel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. München 1939.

Méchoulan, Henry & Gerhard Nahon. eds. *Menasseh Ben Israel—The Hope of Israel, the English translation by Moses Wall*. With a note on the life of Moses Wall by Richard H. Popkin. The Littman Library. Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford 1987.

_____, Josef Dan, and Richard H. Popkin (eds.) *Menasseh Ben Israel and His World*. E. J. Brill, Leiden 1989.

Meinsma, K. O. *Spinoza und sein Kreis—Historisch—Kritische Studien über Holländische Freigeister*. Berlin 1909.

Mellander, Karl and Edgar Prestage. *The Diplomatic and Commercial relations of Sweden and Portugal—from 1641 to 1670*. Voss & Michael, Watford 1930.

Menage, Gilles. *Menagiana* 4 vols. Paris 1754.

Meyer, Ernst. "Drottning Kristinas Alexander" *Samlaren* XI 1890, pp. 81–89.

Michaud, E. *Louis XIV et Innocent XI d'après le correspondence diplomatique inédits du ministère des affaires étrangères de France*. 4 vols. Paris 1882–83.

Milton, John. *Completa Prose Woks*. Vol. IV 1650–1655. New Haven and London 1966.

Möhrmann, Renate ed. *Frauenliteratur—Geschichte Schreibende Frauen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. Metzler, Stuttgart 1985.

Molbech, C. "Bidrag til Dronning Christinas, det Svenske Hofs och Corfitz Ulfeldts Historie, i Aarene 1651–1655, af Peder Juels utrykte Breve til Charisius. *Dansk Historisk Tidskrift*. I:5 1844.

Molinios, Miguel. *The Spiritual Guide which Disentangles the Soul and brings it by the inward way to the getting of perfect contemplation and the Rich Treasure of Internal Peace*. Verbatim from the 2nd ed. of the Engl. Transl. London (1689) 1885.

Montecuccoli, Raimondo. *I Viaggi* (1655). A. Gimorri (ed.) Torino 1924.

Morhoff, Daniel Georg. *Polyhistor in tres tomus litterarium . . . philosophicum et practicum . . . divisos*. Lübeck 1708.

Morelli, Giorgio. "Una celebre 'Canterina' Romana del seicento—La Giorgina". *Studi Secenteschi* 1975, pp. 157–180.

Navenne, Ferdinand de. *Rome et le Palais Farnese pendent les trois derniers siècles*. Paris 1923.

Negri, Paulo. *Disegni di Christina Alessandra di Svezia per un'impresa contro il regno di Napoli*. Napoli 1909.

Neveu, B. *Regia Fortuna . . . Le Palais Farnese*. Rome 1981.

Nisser, Willhelm. "Matthias Palbitzky som connoisseur och tecknare". *Uppsala universitets Årsskrift* 1934:2 pp. 1–154.

Nordström, Johan. *Samlade skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm*. 2 vols. Bonniers, Stockholm 1924.

_____. *De Yverbornas ö*. Rudbeckstudier, Uppsala 1930.

_____. "Lejonet fran Norden" *Samlaren* N. F. 15. Uppsala 1934.

_____. "Cartesius och Drottning Kristinas omvändelse" *Lychnos* 1940.

_____. "Fredrich Menius: En äventyrlig Dorpat Professor och hans glömda insats i det Engelska komediant dramats historia" *Samlaren* N. F. 21. Uppsala 1940.

_____. "Goter och Spanjorer II" *Lychnos* 1979.

Oestereich, Gerhard. *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*. Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge 1982.

Offenberg, A. K. "Brief van Menasseh Ben Israel aan Isaac Vossius, 2 februari 1652" *Historische sprokkelingen uit de Univ. van Amsterdam aangeboden aan mevr Dr M. Feinwel*. Amsterdam 1985. pp. 55–64.

_____. "Jacob Jehuda Leon (1602–1675) and his Model of the Temple" in Jan van den Berg and Ernestine van der Wall ed. *Jewish-Christian Relations in the 17th. Century*. Archives Internationales des Idees 119, Kluwer Academic Press, Dordrecht 1988.

Opus Niger—gli scienziati alla corte Romana di Cristina di Svezia. Roma 1989.
 G. Redavid ed. Forthcoming.

Olofsson, Sven Ingmar. *Drottning Christinas tronavägelse och trosförändring.* Diss. Uppsala 1953.

——— *Ester Westfaliska freden, Sveriges yttre politik (1650–1654).* Stockholm 1957.

——— *Carl X Gustaf. Hertigen—tronföljaren.* Stockholm 1961.

D'Onofrio, Cesare. *Rom val bene un'Abiura—Storia romana tra Cristina di Svezia, Piazza del Popolo e L'Accademia D'Arcadia.* Fratello Palombri, Rome 1976.

Pagel, Walter. *Das Medezinische Weltbild des Paracelsus, seine Zusammenhänge mit neu Platonismus und Gnosis.* Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden 1962.

Pallavacino, Pietri Sforza. *Della Vita de Alessandro VII libri V.* (1655). 2 vols. Prato 1839.

——— *La descrizione del primo vaggio fatto al Roma dalla Regina di Svezia.* Roma 1655. Swedish translation, Casa Editrice Italica, Stockholm 1966.

Paracelsus in der Tradition—Vorträge Paracelsus Tag 1978. Salzburger Beiträge zur Paracelsus Forschung 21, 22. Wien 1980, 1981.

Partini, Anna Maria ed. *Massimiliano Palombara. La Bugia. Rime ermetiche e altri scritti (del codice Reginense del sec. xvii).* Biblioteca ermetica 13). Edizioni Mediterranee. Roma 1983.

——— ed. *Specchio della Verità di Giovanni Battista Comastri—dedicata alla Regina Cristina di Svezia nell'anno 1674.* Edizioni Mediterranee. Roma 1989.

Pastor, Ludwig von. *The history of the Popes—from the close of the middle ages—drawn from the secret archives of the Vatican and other original sources.* B. Herder Books, St. Louis 1952. vol XXXI. (1655–1676).

Pellegrin, Elisabeth. "Catalogue de Manuscrits de Jean et Pierre Bourdelot. Concordance". *Scriptorium* 40, 1986. pp. 202–232.

Pellisier, L. G. "Holstenius et ses amis II" *Revue de Langue Romaine* 1891. pp. 520–538.

Peuckert, W. E. *Die Rosencreuzer. Zur Geschichte einer Reformation.* Jena 1928.

Pieterse, Wilhelmina Ch. *Daniel Levi de Barrios als Geschiedenschrijver van de Portugees-Israelitische Gemeente te Amsterdam in zijn "Triumpho del governo popular".* Scheltema & Holkema, Amsterdam 1968.

Pillorget, René. "Le Passage de Christine de Suède à Marseiile (1656) d'après un source inédite" *Provence Historique* 1962 pp. 260–275. Marseiile 1962.

Pintard, René. *Le Libertinage érudit de la premier moitié de la dix-septième siècle.* Boivin, Paris 1943.

Pirotta, Luciano. *La Porta Ermetica (Un Tesoro Dimenticato).* Atanor, Rome 1979.

Platen, Magnus von. ed. & Marianne Rappe, transl. *Kristinas sjalbiografi och aforismer.* Natur och Kultur, Stockholm 1957.

Popkin, Richard H. "The Marrano Theology of Isaac La Peyrière" *Studi Internazionali di Filosofia* V, 1973. pp. 97–126.

——— *The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Spinoza.* University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1979.

——— "The Third Force in 17th Century Philosophy: Scepticism, Science and Biblical Prophecy" *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* I Prismi, Napoli 1983. pp. 35–65.

——— "Menasseh Ben Israel and Isaac La Peyrière II" *Studia Rosenthaliana* vol. XVIII, 1984. pp. 12–20.

——— "Postel and La Peyrière" pp. 171–181 in Guy Trédaniel ed. *Guillaume Postel 1581–1981. Actes de Colloque International d'Avranches.* Maisne, 1985.

——— "Could Spinoza have known Bodin's Colloquium Heptaplomeres?" *Philosophia—Philosophical Quarterly of Israel* vol. 16. nos. 3–4. December 1986.

——— *Isaac La Peyrière—His Life, Writings and Influence.* E. J. Brill, Leiden 1987.

——— (ed.) *Millenarianism and Messianism in English Literature and Thought 1650–1800.* E. J. Brill, Leiden 1988.

Presser, J. *Das Buch "De Tribus Impostoribus"—von den drei Betrügern.* Amsterdam 1926.

Pumme, Heinz. "Johannes Janssonius. Buchdrucker und Buchhändler der Königin Christina" *Nordisk Tidskrift för bok och biblioteksväsen* 69, 1982:2. pp. 33-48.

Purver, Margery. *The Royal Society—Concept and Creation*. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London 1967.

Queen Christina of Sweden. Documents and studies. Analecta Reginensa I, Stockholm 1966.

D. R. (anonymous), *The Morning Alarum, an Epistle sent to one of the Princess of Germany: Treating in brief, of the Order of the four Monarchies, The Calling of the Jewes . . . Of the last Judgment: Of the new Heavens and new Earth: and of the new Jerusalem*. Nathanael Johnson transl. London 1651.

Ranke, Leopold von. *The History of the Popes—their Church and State—and especially of their conflicts with Protestantism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*. 3 vols. Vol. III. George Bell, London 1906.

Räss, W. *Die Konvertiten*. Vol. 7 (1653-1658). Stuttgart 1853.

Rebolledo, Bernardino de, *La Constancia Victoriosa—egloga sacra* Colonia 1655.

— *Ocios (Selva militar e Politica. Rimas Sacras . . .* 3 vols. Antwerp 1660.

Reeves, Marjorie. *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic future*. SPCK, London 1976.

Res Publica litteraria—Die Institution der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit II. Herz. Aug. Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. Otto Harrasowitz, Wiesbaden 1987.

Revah, I. S. *Spinoza et le Dr. Juan de Prado*. Etudes Juives I. Mouton, Paris 1959.

Rice, James V. *Gabriel Naudé 1600-1653*. The Johns Hopkins studies in Romance literatures and languages vol. xxxv. Baltimore 1939.

Roberts, Michael. *Essays in Swedish History*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 1967.

— *The Swedish Imperial Experience 1560-1718*. Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge 1979.

— *Swedish Diplomats at Cromwell's Court—the missions of Peter Julius Coyet and Christer Bonde (1655-56)*. Camden Fourth Series, vol. 36. London 1988.

Robertson, James C. ed. *John Bargrave—Pope Alexander the Seventh and the College of Cardinals (1662-1680)*. Publications of the Camden Historical Society, London 1867.

Robinet, André. *G. W. Leibniz Iter Italicum (Mars 1689-Mars 1690) La dynamique de la République de Lettres. Nombreux textes inédits*. Accademia Toscana di Scienze e lettere. Firenze 1988.

Rodén Marie-Louise, "Drottning Kristinas studie av Vasavapnet 'L'Arma Antiqua della Suezia'" *Person Historisk Tidskrift* 1989:1 pp. 10-15.

Rood, Wilhelmus. *Comenius and the Low Countries—Some aspects of the Life and Work of Czech Exile in the Seventeenth Century*. Van Gend, Amsterdam 1970.

La Rouchefoucauld—Maximes—suivés par des Reflexions diverses, du Portrait de la Rouche-foucauld par lui-même et des Remarques de Christine de Suède sur les Maximes. ed. J. Truchet. Garnier, Paris 1967.

Runeby, Nils. *Monarchia Mixta—maktfördelningsdebatten i Sverige under den tidigare Stormaktstiden*. Studia Historica Uppsaliensa VI (diss. Uppsala). Norstedts, Stockholm 1962.

— "Bengt Skytte, Comenius och Royal Society" *Scandia* 1963, pp. 360-382.

S, C. M. "En Autograf af Drottning Kristina [Pronostiques de la Reine Christine]" *Personhistorisk Tidskrift* 1910, p. 131-136.

Sabrazes, J. "Christine de Suède et le docteur Bourdelot" *Gazette Hebdomadeire des sciences medicales de Bourdeaux* 56, 1935 pp. 617-689.

Saraiva, A. J. "Antonio Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel et le cinquième empire" *Studia Rosenthaliana* vi 1972. pp. 24-56.

Schlumberbohm, Christa. "Die Glorifizierung der Barockfürstin als 'Femme Forte'" *Wolfenbüttler Studien zur Barock kultur*. Vol. II pp. 113-122.

Schneider, Hermann. *Joachim Morsius und sein Kreis*. Lübeck 1929.

Scholem, Gershom. *Sabbatai Sevi—the Mystical Messiah 1626-1676*. Princeton University Press. Princeton, New Jersey. 1973.

_____. *Kabbalah* New York 1974.

Schoeps, Hans Joachim. "Preadamiter der Insel Thule" *Zeitschr. für Religions und Geistesgeschichte*, 1948 heft 2. pp. 1-6.

_____. *Philosemitismus im Barock—Religions und Geistesgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen 1952.

_____. "Die Sephardische Artzt familie de Castro—ein Beitrag zur Medecingeschichte des Barock" *Ein Weites Feld—Gessammelte Aufsätze*. Haude & Speier, Berlin 1980. pp. 137-162.

Schwartzbach, B. E. and A. W. Fairbairn, "Sur les rapports entre les éditions du 'Traité des trois imposteurs' et la tradition manuscrite de cet ouvrage" *Nouvelles de La République des Lettres* 1987, II. pp. 111-136.

Sebba, Gregor. *The Dream of Descartes*. Assembled and edited by Richard A. Watson for the J. Hist. Philosophy Monograph series, S. Illinois Univ. Press. Carbondale and Evansville 1987.

Secret, Francois. *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance*. Dunod, Paris 1964.

_____. ed. *Guillaume Postel: Le Thésor des Prophéties de L'Univers*. Arch. Intern. des Idées. 27. La Haye 1969.

_____. "Un épisode oublié de la Vie Peirese: Le Sabre Magique de Gustave Adolphe" *Dix-Septième Siècle* 1979.

Setterwall, Monica. "Role-playing in Maxim Form—a Comment on Queen Christina's Maxim's" *Scandinavian Studies* 2, 1985.

Sicherl, Martin. "Zum Vossianus Gr. Q 22" *Scriptorium* 13, 1959.

Sommervogel, Carlos. *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*. Paris et Bruxelles 12 vols. 1980-1930.

Sonnino, Paul. *Louis XIV's view of the Papacy 1661-1667*. UC Publications in History vol. 79. Berkeley & Los Angeles 1966.

Spini, Giorgi. *Ricerca dei libertini—la teoria dell'impostura delle relegioni nel seicento Italiano*. Enlarged edition. Nuova Italia. Florence, 1983 (1950).

Spink, J. S. *French Free-thought from Gassendi to Voltaire*. The Athlone press, Univ. of London 1960.

Spinoza in der Frühzeit seiner Religiösen Wirkung. Wolfenbüttler studien zur Aufklärung band 12. Heidelberg 1984.

Stahle, Carl-Ivar. "Språkteori och ordval i Stiernhielms författarskap" *Arkiv för Nordisk filologi* 66, 1951.

Stassi, Mario Gabriello, "Un 'Trattimento Politico' inedito di Girolamo Brusoni 'La Regina Scurtata'". *Istituto Veneto di Scienze, lettere ed arti, Memorie*. vol xxxviii Fascio II. Veneta 1981.

Steneberg, Karl-Erik. *Kristinatidens måleri*. Allhem, Malmö 1955.

Stolpe, Sven. *Drottning Kristina Maximer—Les Sentiments Heroiques*. Acta Academiae Catholicae Suecanae I. Bonniers, Stockholm 1959.

_____. *Fran Stoicism till Mystik—studier i Drottning Kristinas Maximer*. Bonniers, Stockholm 1959.

_____. "Kristina Studier" *Credo, Katolsk tidskrift* 40:4, 1959 pp. 203-315.

_____. *Drottning Kristina*. Askild och Kärnekull, Stockholm 1982, (1960-61).

English translation by Ruth Mary Bethel. Burns & Oates, London 1966.

Strauss, Leo. *Persecution and the Art of Writing*. Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois 1952.

Sundberg, Bertil. *Den skiten Per Andersson—en lycksökare från Christinas tid*. Bonniers, Stockholm 1967.

Szarota, Elida Maria. ed. *Die Gelehrte Welt des 17 Jahrhunderts über Polen: Zeitgenössische Texte*. Europaverlag. Wien, München, Zürich 1972.

Taylor, Rene. "Hermeticism and mystical Architecture in the Society of Jesus" in Rudolf Wittkower. ed. *Baroque Art: the Jesuit Contribution*. New York 1972.

Ter Horst, D. J. H. *Isaac Vossius en Salmasius, Een episode uit de 17de-eeuwsche geleerden-geschiedenis*. The Hague 1938.

Thorndike, Lynn. *History of Magic and experimental Science*. vols. VII, VIII Columbia Univ. Press, New York 1958.

Thurloe, John. *State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq.* 6 vols. 1648-1667. T. Birch ed.

London 1742.

“Tod und Begräbnis des Feldmarshall Paul Wurtz” *Z. des Vereins für Hamb. Geschichte* Bd, 4 1858 p. 307–313.

Tolmer, Leon. *Pierre-Daniel Huet, Humaniste—Physicien*. Colas, Bayeux 1949.

Toon, Peter. *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Isreal*. Cambridge 1970.

Trevor-Roper, Hugh. “Three foreigners—Hartlib, Dury and Comenius” *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change*. Oxford 1967.

Troncarelli, Fabio. *La Citta dei Segreti—Magia, Astrologia e cultura esoterica a Roma (xv–xvii)*. Franco Angelli, Roma 1985.

Turnbull, G. H. *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius—gleaning from Hartlib’s papers*. Hodder & Stoughton, London 1947.

— “Johan Valentin Andreae’s Societas Christiana” *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie* 73, 1954. pp. 426–432. *ZDPH* 74, 1955 pp. 151–152.

Valentin, Hugo. “Drottning Kristina av Sveriges Judiska förbindelser” *Festschrift . . . to David Simonsen*. J. Fischer. ed Copenhagen 1923.

— *Judarnas Historia i Sverige*. Stockholm 1924.

Verginelli, Vinci. *Bibliotheca Hermetica Catalogo alquanto Ragionato della Raccolta Verginelli—Rota di Antichi Testi Ermetici (secoli xv–xvii)*. Nardini, Firenze 1986.

Vogelstein, Hermann and Paul Rieger. *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*. Band II, 1420–1870. Berlin 1895.

Voltaire, *Oeuvres Complètes de Voltaire*. Vol. 81 & 82, Notebooks. Geneva and Toronto 1968.

Waal, H. van der. “Rembrandt’s Etchings for Menasseh Ben Israel’s *Piedra Gloriosa*” *Steps towards Rembrandt—collected articles 1937–1972*. North Holland, Amsterdam 1974. pp. 113–124.

Walker, D. P. *The Decline of Hell—Seventeenth Century Discussions of Eternal Torment*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1964.

— *The Ancient Theology—studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. Duckworth, London 1972.

Ward, Christopher. *New Sweden on the Delaware*. Philadelphia 1938.

Watson, Richard A. “Transubstantiation among the Cartesians” in *The Breakdown of Cartesian Metaphysics* 2nd. ed. Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey 1987.

Watson, Richard A. “Descartes n’est pas l’auteur de *La Naissance de La Paix*”. *Archives de Philosophie* 1990: 3. p. 389–401.

Webster, Charles. *Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning*. Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge 1970.

— *The Great Instauration: Science, Medecine and Reform 1626–1660* London 1975.

— *From Paracelsus to Newton—Magic and the Making of modern Science*. Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge 1982.

Weibull, Curt. “Drottning Kristinas övergång till Katolicismen” *Scandia* 1, 1928 pp. 215–247.

— *Drottning Christina—Studier och Forskningar* Natur och Kultur, Stockholm 1931.

— *Drottning Christina och Monaldescho* Natur och Kultur, Stockholm 1936.

— “Drottning Kristinas tronavvägelse och trosskifte” *Scandia* 34 1962. pp. 196–326.

— *Drottning Christina och Sverige 1646–1651. En fransk diplomat berättar*. Norstedts, Stockholm 1970.

— “Sverige och Drottning Christina—en Venetianare berättar” *Scandia* pp. 64–98.

Weibull, Martin. “Om ‘Mémoires de Chanut’” *Historisk Tidskrift*. 1887–88. I. pp. 49–80. II. pp. 11–192.

Weixlgärtner, A. “Eine von Stefano della Bella illustrierte Handschrift für Königin Christine” *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 22, 1953, pp. 99–110.

Westin, Gunnar. *Negotiations about Church unity 1628–1634*. Uppsala universitets årskrift 1932.

_____. *Brev från John Durie åren 1636–1638—John Durie, Gustavus Adolphus, Axel Oxenstierna*. Uppsala universitets årskrift 1933.

_____. *Svenska Kyrkan och de protestantiska enhetssträvandena under 1630-talet*. Uppsala universitets årskrift 1934.

Wettermark, Arne. "Kring ett Hermetiskt guldkrynt på Kristina-utställningen" Gustaf-Adolfs Akademins Årsbok. *Saga och Sed* 1966. pp. 83–107.

Whitelocke, Bulstrode. *A Journal of the Swedish Embassy in the Years 1653 and 1654*. 2 vols. Longmanns, London 1855.

Wieselgren, H. *Drottning Kristinas bibliotek och bibliotekarier före hennes bosättning i Rom . . .* Kungl. Vitterhets historie o. antikvitets akademiens handlingar. N. F. 13:2 Stockholm 1901.

Williams, George Huntston. *The Polish Brethren—Documentation of the History & Thought of Unitarianism . . . 1601–1685* Harvard Theological studies XXX Part 2 no. 28, 29, pp. 519–591. Scholars Press, Montana 1980.

Wittrock G. *Carl Gustavs Testamente—den inrikespolitiska krisen i Sverige ar 1660*. Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala 1908.

Wolf, Lucienne. "American Elements in the Resettlement" *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* Vol. III pp. 88–93.

Wollimhaus, Simon. *Zwölf Lutherische Kirchen der seit dem Anfang der Welt gewesen und bleiben müssen bis an den lieben jungsten tag*. Stockholm 1655.

Wrangel, Ewert. "Drottning Christina och Le Grand Cyrus" *Samlaren* XIX, 1898.

Wrangel, F. U. *Drottning Kristinas resa från Rom till Franska Hovet 1656*. Norstedts, Stockholm 1923.

Yates, Frances A. *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1972.

_____. *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London 1972.

_____. *Ideas and Ideals in the North European Renaissance—collected essays*. Vol. III. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1984.

INDEX

Abendsur, Joshua 278
Aboab, Isaac 183, 191
Abudiente, Moses Gedera 190
Adam xii, xiv, 20, 25, 32, 88, 89,
108, 110, 116, 166, 203, 204, 270,
289
d'Agreda, Maria 287
Adler Salvius, Johan xiii, 32, 78,
136, 139, 142, 182, 184
Adolph Johan, Prince 124, 146n
Ahnlund, Nils 5n, 206n
Albrizzi, Cardinal 285
Alexander VII, Chigi 4, 11, 38, 174,
205, 206, 215, 218, 222, 225, 226,
245, 269, 272, 276, 305
Alexander the Great 4n, 12, 15, 68,
165n, 225, 226, 229, 253, 261, 263,
282, 298, 303, 308, 314
d'Alembert 306, 307
Almansi, Guido 250
Alsted, Johan 95
Amyraut, Moize 239
Anaxagoras 275
Andrae, J. V. 138–41, 151, 174
Angelina, 305
Anhalt, Ludwig of 139
Anna Henriette, Princess Palatine
42, 243
Anslo, Reyer 147, 148, 225
Apollo 159, 317
Arcesilaos 228, 229
Arckenholtz, Johan 145, 147, 149,
170, 178, 182, 243, 306
Argolin, Andreas 163, 164, 170
Aristippus 73, 76
Aristotle 19, 51, 55n, 79, 185, 229,
258, 270, 291
Arnauld, Antoine 231, 287
Arndt, Johan 140
Arnold, Gottfried 290
Arnold of Villanova 277n
Artisti, Elias 278
Arundel, William 213
Ashmole, Elias 144, 147, 150
Aston, Francis 280
Atlantis 116
August, Duke of
Braunschweig-Luneburg 138, 141,
248n, 279, 304
Augustine, St. 64, 99n, 185, 228
Averroes (Ibn-Rushd) 79, 81, 277,
291, 292, 310, 311
Avicenna 277n
Azzolini, Duccio Cardinal. 8, 86,
171, 172, 174, 190, 194, 233, 240,
243, 245, 253, 257, 263, 265, 279,
284, 287, 288, 299, 305
Baco 248
Bacon, Francis 95, 128
Baillet, Adrian 51, 62, 64
Balbus the Stoic 59
Baldinucci, Filippo 16
Ballantine, William 150
Balzac 25
Banco, Lorenzo di 208
Bandarra 207
Bandiera, Pietro Antonio 281
Bandini 86
Barrioueuvo, Jeronimo de 40n
Barrios, Daniel Levi de 192
Bartoli, Pietro Santo 261, 262
Basilides, the Gnostic 261
Bayle, Pierre 176, 195, 273, 290n,
308
Beale, John 128, 141n
Beaulieu, Antoine 48
Bel, Pater le 232
Belin, Jacques 35
Bellori, Giovanni Pietro 261, 262
Bernal Martin 113
Bernière de Louvigny, Jourdaine
287
Bernini, Giovanni Lorenzo 16, 262,
305
Berulle 35
Beuningen van, Conrad 42, 186, 220
Beverland, Adrian 39
Bianchini, Francesco 254, 255
Bielke, Nils 40n
Bildt, Carl 5, 6, 65n, 240, 263, 272
Blitterswick, William 222
Blon, Christopher le 129
Blon, Michel le xiii, 106, 147, 148,
149, 184, 221n
Blondel, David 39
Bochart, Samuel 41, 104n, 106,
111n, 147, 148, 149, 184
Bodin, Jean 31, 43, 57, 59, 176, 180,
292n
Boeler, Johan Heinrich 104
Boehme, Jacob 95, 137, 148, 186
Boineburg, Johan Christian 40n,
122, 239, 246, 247

Bonnet, Nicolas de 128
 Borch, Olaus 116
 Boreel, Adam 78, 191
 Boreel, William 40n
 Borelli, Giovanni Alfonso 255, 259
 Borri, Francesco Giuseppe 269, 275, 276, 279
 Bossuet, Bishop 58, 59
 Bourdelot, Jean 82
 Bourdelot, Pierre Michon xiii, 10, 15, 40n, 41, 42, 103, 106, 107, 111n, 157, 203, 212, 255, 270, 273, 289, 291, 311, 313
 Boudon de la Salle, Philippe 227, 313
 Bouilleau, Ismael 38, 157, 237
 Bourdon, Sébastien 120
 Bourignon, Antoinette 293
 Boyle, Robert 127n, 128
 Brahe, Ebba 124
 Brahe, Per 211
 Brahe, Tycho 161, 162, 170, 171, 173
 Brégy, Charlotte Fléquelle de 39n
 Bremont 23
 Bridget, St. 173
 Bromsenius, Sven 104
 Brown, Thomas 304
 Bruno, Giordano 90, 95, 100, 151, 271, 277
 Brusoni, Girolamo 33
 Brutus 311
 Buckingham, G. V. 220, 221n
 Burenstam, Carl 7
 Bureus, Johannes 92, 93, 114, 119n, 137, 161, 198, 204
 Burnet, Gilbert 259
 Caesar 4n, 229, 253, 303, 308, 309
 Calderon de la Barca 224n
 Camden, William 301
 Campanella, Tomaso 41, 96, 129, 151, 212, 239, 255, 271
 Canseliet, Eugène 274n
 Cappel, Louis 205n, 239
 Capua, Leonardo di 258
 Carcavi, Pierre de 47
 Cardano 83
 Casati, S. J. Paolo 9, 29, 310
 Cassimir Wasa, Johan King of Poland 158, 169, 234, 243, 244, 254, 307
 Cassini, Giovanni Domenico 172, 177, 254
 Cassirer, Ernst 9, 44, 55–69, 291, 300
 Castel Rodrigo 216
 Catherine of Genoa, St. 287
 Catullus 39, 227
 Causubon, Isaac 99
 Causubon, Meric 99n
 Cecconi, Alessandro 40n, 97
 Cérissantes, Marc Duncan de 24, 25, 37
 Cérissier, Abbé de 163
 Cérisy, G. H. de 40
 Certau, Michel de 285
 Chanut, Pierre Hector 5, 8, 21, 25, 27, 34, 40, 45–55, 56, 147, 216, 284n, 314
 Chapelain, Jean 25, 74, 83, 107, 210, 216
 Charles X Gustavus 27, 39n, 124, 126, 149, 158, 164, 169, 198, 218, 235, 237, 250, 263, 307
 Charles XI, King of Sweden 118, 234, 246
 Charles Ludwig, Prince Palatine 39n, 83
 Charles I Stuart 107, 164, 168, 307
 Charles II Stuart 37, 128, 170, 197, 215n, 217, 248
 Charles V of Habsburg 4
 Chevreau, Urbain 83, 229, 311
 Chigi, Fabio (see Alexander VII)
 Chielmenicki, Bogdan 169
 Chomsky, Noam 108
 Christina, Queen of Sweden 9n, 38n, 39n, 56n, 105n, 304n–305n
 Ciampini, C. G. 254, 260
 Cicero 30, 43, 58, 59
 Clemens IX, Rospiugliosi 194, 235
 Clement of Alexandria 99n
 Clerk, Jean Le 239
 Clerselier 35
 Cohen de Lara, David 182
 Cohn, Norman 197
 Colbert 247
 Colonne 305n, 315
 Comastri, Giovanni Batista 277
 Comenius, Jan Amos 59, 87, 95, 125, 131, 152, 158, 168, 169, 245, 293
 Condé, Prince Louis II de xii, 3, 11, 33, 42, 61n, 146n, 174, 193, 197, 202, 214, 241–243, 309, 314
 Conring, Herman 40n, 51, 106, 122
 Contarini 79
 Copernicus 171, 255
 Cordovero, Moses 185
 Corneille 68n, 293, 297
 Corregio 145, 305
 Courtin, Antoine 145, 302
 Coyet, Peter 118, 125, 214

Cowley, Abraham 128n
 Cremonini, Cesare 82
 Crescimbini 282
 Croll, Oswald 276
 Cromwell, Oliver 107, 136, 142, 167–169, 180, 186, 187, 193, 204, 209, 222, 223, 232, 303, 314
 Cromwell, Henry 219
 Cudworth, Ralph 97
 Cyrus 100

Da Costa, Emmanuel Nuñez 190
 Da Costa, Uriel 111
 Dacier, Anne Lefèvre 97, 301
 Dahlberg, Eric 263
 Daniels, Emil 240
 Danielsson, Arne xiv, 119
 David, King 167, 175, 197, 203, 286
 De Besche, Karel 135
 De Casseres, Henriques 187
 De Casseres, Simon 187
 De Castro, Baruch 183, 190, 270
 De Castro, Isaac Orobio 192
 Dee, John 92, 119n, 151, 276, 277
 Defoe, Daniel 250
 De Geer, Lawrence 135
 De Geer, Louis 127n, 132, 135
 De La Suze, Henriette 25
 Della Bella, Stefano 161
 Della Cueva y Sylva, Antonio 208, 216, 230, 302, 313
 Democritus 256, 290n
 Descartes, René xi, 5, 9, 22, 44–69, 104, 105, 239, 254, 256, 270, 280
 Diderot, Denise 305
 Digby, Kenelm 74n
 Diocletian 4n
 Diogenes the Cynic 68, 76
 Diogenes Laertius 97
 Dionysius Aeropagita 99n, 227
 Dohna 297
 D'Onofrio, Cesare 24
 Drabicus, Nicholas 152, 168
 Dulmen, Richard van 151, 152n
 Durietz 40n
 Dury, John 59, 90, 124, 130–136, 245, 249, 253
 D'Enghien, Le Duc 242–243
 D'Estrées, Cardinal 288

Elisabeth I, Queen of England 301, 304
 Elisabeth, Queen of Bohemia 106, 151
 Elisabeth, Princess Palatine 45n, 46, 48, 293
 Emberry, Dorcas 199

Empedocles 256, 275
 Emporagius, Erik 34
 Epicurus 55, 73, 76, 128, 257
 Epictetus 75
 Erasmus 285
 Erlach, Fischer von 262
 Essen-Möller, Elis 300
 Euclid 98
 Eugène de Savoy 263
 Evans, Arise, 167, 168
 Evelyn, John 128n, 211
 Ezra, Eben 239

Febure, Michael 250–252
 Felgenhauer, Paul 210
 Felix, Gabriel 193
 Ferdinand III 39n
 Ferdinand IV 217
 Fermat, Pierre de 98
 Figulus, Peter 133
 Flamsteed, John 254
 Fleming, Hermann 45
 Fludd, Robert 94
 Forsberg, Samuel 281
 Foucault, Michel 260
 Foucher, Simon 249
 Franck, Johannes 278
 Francken S. J., Gottfried 9
 Franckenburg, Abraham von 163
 Franz, Marie-Louise von 276
 Fredrick V, King of Bohemia 46, 125, 151, 152, 162, 277
 Fredrick of Hessen 10
 Fredrick Wilhelm of Brandenburg 13, 39n, 129, 281
 Freinshemius, Johannes 48, 105, 154
 Fronde, the 23, 35, 36, 106, 213
 Fryxell, Anders 258
 Fuensaldana, Count 187, 216, 310

Gadbury, John 169
 Galileo, Galilei 66n, 171, 239, 254
 Garasse, Pierre 31, 40
 Garbo, Greta xi, 144, 145n
 Gardie, Jakob de la 39, 146n
 Gardie, Magnus Gabriel de la 23, 26, 39n, 40n, 41, 146, 180, 314
 Gassendi, Pierre xii, 18n, 19, 69, 86, 96, 164, 239, 254, 257, 259
 Georg II Rakoscy 169
 Gerdes, Johan 68
 Gezelius, Johan 91
 Gil, Alexander 161
 Giordani, Vitale 254
 Glauber, Johann Rudolf 85
 Godemann, Caspar 130

Goethe, J. W. 38n
 Goldmann, Lucien 293
 Guemes, Juan Baptista 120
 Gustavus II Adolphus xi, 92, 113, 114, 150, 153, 158, 162, 170, 171, 176, 198, 199, 210, 218, 264n, 265n
 Gabriele, Mino 272, 273, 275, 276
 Galenus 85
 Gaulmain, Gilbert 105, 182
 Geijer, Eric Gustav 218
 Gerdes, Johan 68
 Gezelius, Johan 91
 Gheluwen, Arnold van 223
 Godefrey of Bouillon 154, 246
 Goldast, Melchior 105
 Goldmayer, Andreas 170
 Gonzaga, Anna 243
 Göransson, Sven 168
 Gradi, Stephano 254, 258
 Grape, Anders 125
 Graswinckel, Theodore 222
 Grimaldi S.J., 117
 Grimaldi, Constantin 97
 Gronovius, Johannes Friedrich 76, 104, 107
 Grotius, Hugo 24, 31n, 33, 116, 133
 Grotius, Maria b. Reigersberch 39n
 Gualdo Priorato, Galeazzo 34n
 Guemes Dom., Juan Baptista 120
 Guericke 237
 Gyllenhielm, Carl Carlsson 140
 Gyllenstierna, Johan 157
 Haak, Theodore 141
 Hacki, Father 240
 Halley, Edmund 177
 Haro, Luis de 216
 Hartlib, Samuel 85, 124, 131, 141, 174
 Havercamp, Siegbert 263
 Hedwig, Queen of Poland 241
 Hedwig Sophie of Hessen-Kassel 128
 Hein, Heinrich 139, 140
 Heinsius, Nicolas 31, 36n, 41, 105, 107, 182, 210, 227, 237, 239, 271
 Helmont, J. B. van 277
 Helvetius, Johan Fredrick 279
 Henri, King of France 202
 Henriette Marie, Princess Palatine 125, 126, 152, 191
 Henriques, Juan Nuñez 189
 Henry IV, King of France 164
 Herault, Isaac 74n, 107
 Hermes Trismegistus 85, 94, 99
 Hermeticism xii, 7, 12, 36, 48, 85, 86, 94, 100, 129, 227, 231, 232, 273–277, 287, 303
 Hermias 96, 98
 Hevelius, Johannes 254
 Hjortsjö, Carl Hermann 300
 Hobbes, Thomas 83n, 239
 Hoffwenius, Peter 49
 Holberg, Ludwig 306
 Holm, Johannes Jonae 110
 Holstenius, Lucas 5n, 96, 138n, 231
 Hotton, Godfried 133
 Huet, Pierre-Daniel 18, 51, 106, 108, 113
 Hunter, Michael 141n
 Iamblichus 96, 105, 229, 292
 Iason at Colchis 274
 Ivarsson Natt och Dag, Arvid 4
 James I 165n, 174
 James II 194
 Japhet 113, 116, 118n, 166
 Jeanne, Popess 39
 Jesuits xi, 5, 10, 23, 29, 62, 90, 198–199, 207–210, 310
 Joachim di Fiore 174
 Joanna Jagellonica 241
 Joanna, Queen of Naples 173
 Joao IV Braganza, King of Portugal 208
 John of the Cross, St. 286
 Jordanes of Seville 114
 Joseph 197
 Joshua 167
 Juan José, Prince of Austria 214, 216, 223
 Juel, Peder 7n, 19n, 125, 157, 314
 Jung, C. G. 272, 276
 Jungius, Joachim 139
 Junius, Fransiscus 112
 Jurieu, Pierre 193
 Kaplan, Yosef 33
 Katz, David S. 178
 Kellenbenz, Herman 182
 Kempe, Anders 191
 Kepler, Johan 239
 Khunrath, Heinrich 92, 276
 Kinner, Cyprian 133
 Kircher S. J., Athanasius 111, 117, 171, 226, 237, 259, 261, 262, 263
 Klingius, Zacharias 104
 Kolakowski, Leczek 293
 Kotter, Christopher 152, 162, 168
 Kunckel, Johann 281
 Kunz, Marion Leathers 31
 Labadie, Jean de 213, 293
 Labrousse, Elisabeth 158

Lacquer, Hercule de 230n
 Lacombe, François 306
 Lactantius 99n
 Laet, Jean de 37
 Lambe, John 220
 Lambecius, Petrus 138n
 Lancelot 231
 Langlois, Hubert 314
 La Motte 11
 La Rouchefoucault, Francois 308
 Launay, Gilles de 74n, 76
 Lavin, Irving 16
 Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm xi, 7, 18,
 79, 84, 117n, 122, 128, 239,
 242–243, 246, 264, 249, 269, 280,
 286–287, 292–293
 Leiden, John of 164n
 Lekeby, Kjell 170, 172, 173
 Lenet, Pierre 204, 213
 Leo X 30n, 222
 Leone Hebreo 183, 185
 Leon, Jacob Jehuda 191
 Luis de 203, 205, 286
 Leopold I 146n, 194, 217
 Leopold of Tuscany 39n, 238, 278
 Leopold Wilhelm, Archduke 39n,
 222n, 223, 310
 Levitus, Cyprianus 162
 Leti, Gregorio 219n, 305
 Libavius, Andreas 277
 Liceto, Fortunio 98
 Lilleburn, William 213
 Lilly, William 144, 164, 167, 168
 Lionne, Hugues de 33, 230
 Lipsius, Justus 75, 95
 Lisle, Alexander 135
 Loccenius, Johannes 105
 Locke, John 76, 239
 Longueville, Anne-Geneviève de
 214, 304
 Lopez, Gregorio 294
 Lopez, Roy 187
 Louis XIV 18, 42, 77, 128, 163, 172,
 202, 230, 231, 247–249, 253
 Löwen, Maria Cunitz von 133
 Lubieniecki, Stanislaus xiii, 172,
 176, 235–39
 Lucretius Carus xii, 3, 73, 74, 81, 85
 Ludolf, George Henric 104
 Ludolf, Hiob 104, 106, 111, 118
 Luria, Isaac 185
 Luther, Martin 116, 236
 Macedo S. J., Antonio 9, 198
 Macedo, Augustin 225
 Machiavelli 26, 48n, 83n, 169
 Madathanus, Heinrich 274n, 281n
 Magnus, Olaus 113
 Maier, Michael 151, 276, 281n
 Malaval, François 85, 287, 292, 294
 Maldaschi, Cardinal 305
 Malebranche, Nicolas 80n, 269,
 290n
 Malines S. J., Francisco 9, 10, 29,
 310
 Malpighi, Marcello 254
 Maimonides, Moses 21, 22, 185
 Manderscheidt, Charles Alexander von
 27, 99n, 104, 227
 Marchand, Prosper 306
 Marcus Aurelius 75, 301
 Marana, Giolio Paulo 249–252
 Mare, Philibert de la 204
 Marie Eleonore 56n, 174, 176n
 Marigny, Jacques Carpentier de
 61n, 314
 Martial 313
 Mary, Mother of Christ 5, 16, 89,
 286n, 297, 313
 Marolles, Michel de 74
 Marwell, Andrew 103, 215
 Massaniello 164n, 211, 214
 Matthiae, Johannes 29, 87, 92, 127,
 130, 131, 133, 168, 209, 221
 Maximilian of Bayern 63
 Mazarin, Jules. Cardinal. 12, 31n,
 105, 128, 163, 173, 211, 212, 219,
 221, 223, 230–232, 245
 Mazzoni, Girolamo Giuseppe 13,
 171, 228, 229
 Mede, Joseph 174, 193
 Medici, Cosimo di 94
 Meibom, Marcus 41, 106
 Meinfreund, Theophilus 165
 Menage, Gilles 39n, 97, 115, 231
 Menasseh ben Israel xiii, 110, 136,
 147, 149, 168, 178, 180–182, 186,
 196, 198, 199, 207, 227
 Menius, Fredrik 87, 132, 137
 Merian, Matthias 129
 Mersenne, Marin 46, 60, 275
 Mesland 61n
 Mesme, de Henri 31n, 227
 Messenius, Arnold 123
 Messenius, Johan 123, 124, 142, 170
 Michailowitz, Alexis. Czar. 242
 Mirandola, Pico della 94, 96
 Milani, G. E. 256
 Milton, John 31n, 104, 148, 193, 291
 Modena, Francesco d'Este, Duke of
 221, 231
 Molière 77
 Molinos, Miguel 8, 19, 24, 80, 194,
 282, 284–294

Momma-Renstierna, Abraham 189
 Momma-Renstierna, Jacob 189
 Monaldescho, Gian Rinaldo 7, 8,
 36, 122, 219n, 232, 276, 303, 304,
 315
 Montecuccoli, Raimondo 40n, 143,
 144, 204, 215–217, 221, 227, 271
 Montesinos, Antonio 207, 210n
 More, Henry 50, 80, 82, 83n, 84,
 99n, 106, 259, 269, 275, 291
 Morhoff, G. W. 32
 Morian, Henrich 85, 139, 141
 Morin S. J., J. B. 170, 171
 Morisot, Claude-Berthélémy 77
 Morsius, Joachim 93, 137, 138, 141,
 142, 161
 Morus, Alexander 103, 224
 Mosche the Phoenician 97
 Motteville, Madame de 303
 Muhlman, S. J. 237
 Mussaphia, Dionys 190

Naudé, Gabriel 78, 80, 82, 83n, 84,
 99n, 106, 259, 269, 275, 291
 Naylor, James 199
 Neubourg, Prince of 241, 242, 246
 Newton, Isaac 176, 239, 255, 280
 Nicolas of Cusa 54, 57
 Nicole, Pierre 231
 Nilsson, Nils 124
 Ninon de L'Enclos 77, 302
 Noah 112, 113, 115n, 162, 166, 205,
 228, 279, 286
 Noghera, Vincente 198
 Nollius, Heinrich 138
 Nordström, Johan xiv, 5, 6, 56n, 176
 Nostradamus, Michel 173
 Nutius S. J., Philip 10, 213

Olofsson, Sven Ingmar 5, 6, 19
 Oxenstiern, Axel 127, 130, 131, 181,
 212
 Oxenstiern, Bengt Gabrielsson 4n
 Oxenstiern, Elisabeth 40n
 Oxenstiern, Eric Axelsson 85
 Oldenburg, Henry 78, 127n, 237
 Oliwekrantz, Johan 193
 Olympiodorus 96, 98
 Ortiz, Antonio Dominguez 285
 Ovid, 40n, 105, 147n, 227, 271n

Palibitzki, Matthias 118, 120
 Pallavacino, Pietro Sforza 3n, 284n
 Palombara, Massimilano de 274,
 275, 280n
 Paracelsus, Theophrastus 88, 95,
 161, 254, 270, 271, 276, 278

Pascal, Blaise 46, 47, 57, 61, 103,
 107, 158n, 231, 287, 293, 307
 Passerini, Philippo 219n
 Patin, Guy 31n, 304, 314
 Patrizzi 95
 Paul III 222
 Paul V 272
 Pell, John 174
 Pellegrini, Bonaventura 281
 Peter the Great, Czar. 248
 Petain, Paul 105
 Petit, Pierre 164
 Petrarcha 97
 Petronius Arbiter 3, 227, 313
 Peyrère, Isaac La xii, xiii, xiv, 25,
 32, 38, 116, 168, 174, 186, 199,
 202–207, 212–, 227, 228, 289
 Pfennig, Matthias 199
 Philip IV, King of Spain 11, 39,
 119, 216, 230, 231, 287, 313
 Philo of Alexandria 99n, 292n
 Philostorgus 105
 Pico della Mirandola 94, 96
 Pignatelli, Stephan 257
 Pintard, René xi, 20, 21, 36, 37, 39,
 103, 204
 Pimentel de Prado, Antonio 8n, 11,
 27, 39n, 40n, 120, 144, 146, 187,
 188, 196, 208, 212, 230, 310, 313,
 314
 Picart, Bernard 306
 Picques, de 19n, 34, 135, 211, 264,
 284n, 314
 Picquet, Du 40n, 145
 Plato 49, 94, 116, 185, 258
 Platonism, neo- 7, 15, 27, 53, 79, 85,
 94, 95, 98, 105, 110, 145n, 227, 231,
 256, 292
 Plettenberg, Georg von 36
 Plutharch 94, 99, 229, 369
 Pohmer, J. 139
 Poirier, Hélie 48, 133n, 147n, 148
 Poisson 56
 Pomponazzi, Pietro 32, 79, 82, 83n,
 212, 255, 259
 Pomponne 247
 Poniatowska, Christina 162, 168
 Popkin, Richard H. 33, 63, 204, 285
 Porphyry 97, 193, 227
 Postel, Guillaume 78, 92, 93, 100,
 118, 166, 173, 203
 Poussin 145n
 Prado, Juan de 196, 207, 292
 Presser, Jacob 100
 Priorato, Galeazza Gualdo 34n
 Proclus 96, 99n, 105, 227, 292
 Procopius 51

Protagoras 257
 Pufendorf, Samuel 122
 Pythagoreans 39n, 74, 84, 91, 278
 Quillinus, Artus 148
 Racine 68n, 293
 Racoscy, Sigismund 125, 152
 Radziejowski, Hieronym 145
 Rählamb, Claes 126, 127
 Ramus 127
 Ranke, Leopold von 9, 10, 240, 299, 300
 Rasis 277
 Ravius, Christian 85, 105n, 111, 127, 133, 135
 Raviv, Jan 135
 Rebello, Bernardino de 9, 142, 144, 146, 147, 190, 213
 Reggio, Pietro 211
 Rembrandt, Harmensz van Rijn 185, 186n
 Rezander, Petrus 98
 Retz, De. Cardinal. 245
 Reuchlin 92
 Richelieu 31n, 131
 Risingh, Johan Klaesson 181
 Roberval 46
 Rodén, Marie-Louise 309
 Roe, Thomas 130
 Rolandus, Jacobus 223
 Romanus, Morieno 275
 Rosicrucianism 64n, 78, 82, 92, 93, 137–142, 150, 151, 174, 273, 275, 303
 Rosencreutz, Christian 137, 275
 Rothovius, Isaac 110
 Rotta, Salvatore 254
 Rouchefoucauld, Francois La 308
 Rudolph II 86, 94, 103, 104, 162, 276, 277n
 Rudbeck, Olof 116, 118, 119, 237
 Runeby, Nils 125
 Saavedra Fajardo, D. 114
 Sabbatai Sevi 189, 190, 199, 238, 251, 285
 Sadowsky, Count 168
 Saint-Amand, Marc-Antoine 37, 106
 Saint-Evrémond, Charles de 4n, 37
 Saint-Maurice, Robert Alcide Bonnecase de 83, 310, 311
 Saint-Simon 42
 Santinelli, Francesco Maria 276, 278
 Santinelli, Ludovico 276
 Sanuto, Marino 248
 Sarrau, Claude 31n, 96, 104n, 148
 Sartre, Jean-Paul 7
 Saubert, Johan 141
 Saumaise, Claude xiii, 31, 37, 38, 45n, 50, 69, 112, 132, 180, 219, 311
 Scheffer, Johannes 97, 105, 110
 Schlichting, Johannes 239
 Schlippenbach, Carl Christopher 314
 Schoeps, H. J. 179–181, 182
 Schurman, Anna Maria van 18, 86n, 91, 104, 293, 301
 Scudéry, Madelaine de 18, 146, 302–303
 Scudéry, George de 40n, 120
 Sebastian, King of Portugal 207, 212
 Sehestedt, Hannibal 213
 Sendivogius 277, 278
 Seneca 48
 Serrarius, Peter 127n
 Servetus, Michael 236
 Setterwall, Monica 308
 Sexby, Edward 213
 Sextus Empiricus 30, 43, 49
 Sigismund Wasa 234
 Simon, Richard 99, 100, 193
 Skytte, Bengt xiii, 85, 91, 123–130, 136, 152, 246n
 Skytte, Johan 127
 Skytte, Lars 25, 209
 Sobiesky, Johan King of Poland 192, 193, 248
 Socinus, Faustus 193, 236
 Socrates 76
 Solomon 31, 93, 130, 191, 192, 313, 317
 Sophie of Prussia 18
 Sorbière, Samuel 107, 239
 Sousa Couthino, Francisco De 198
 Spanheim, Ezekiel 261
 Sparre, Ebba 39n, 42, 75
 Sparre, Gustav 222
 Sparvensfeldt, Johan Gabriel 119, 189
 Spener, Jacob 239, 290
 Spinoza, Baruch de 77, 78, 83, 111, 187n, 196, 239, 270, 279, 292
 Steinberg 314
 Stiernhielm, Georg 48, 87, 89, 91, 92, 94, 114, 115, 124, 127, 139
 Stoicism, neo- 8n, 17, 48, 49, 55n, 66, 68, 75, 89n, 95, 105
 Stolpe, Sven 5, 6, 8, 15–17, 19, 35, 62, 182, 237, 240, 284, 286n, 287, 288, 290, 291, 293, 294, 297, 299, 308, 309
 Stouppe, J. G. 213, 215
 Strauss, Leo 21, 22

Studion, Simon 174
 Sundberg, Bertil 4n, 39
 Surin, Jacques 293
 Surreau, Ezechius 40n, 313, 314
 Sybelista, Wendelin 28n

Tacitus 75
 Tarente, Trémouille Prince of 215, 222
 Tassius, Adolf 139
 Tasso 246, 257
 Teixerá, Abrahám 187, 188
 Teixerá, Manoel 28n, 187–192, 278, 311
 Terlon, Hugues de 195
 Terra Nova 208
 Terserus, Johannes 96, 124, 182
 Temmar, Jean 18n, 122n
 Tessin, Nicodemus 121, 262
 Theoderic the Great 90, 118
 Theresa of Avila, St. 286
 Thomas, St. 205, 276
 Thomiris 154, 298
 Thurlow, John 28, 196n, 214, 215, 216n, 219n
 Thurneisser, Valentin 277
 Tizian 145n
 Torricelli 47
 Tott, Klas Åkesson 39n, 40, 136, 146n, 214
 Trevisano 274, 277
 Trichet du Fresne, Raphael 106, 157, 213, 314
 Trihemus 277

Ulfeldt, Corfitz 143n, 145
 Ussher, James 104, 131

Valensin, Manuel 187
 Valentin, Hugo 182
 Valentinus, Basilio 277
 Valesius, Henric 104n
 Valla, Giuseppe 259
 Vanini 32, 83n
 Vergil 227, 229
 Veronese 145n, 305
 Verus, Jacobus 210n
 Verville, F. Beroald de 39
 Vieira S. J., Antonio de xiii, 196, 198, 207–210, 253, 258, 286
 Vigne, Pierre de 78
 Vimina, Alberto 26, 27

Vinci, Leonardo da 106
 Vitebo 278
 Viterbo, Egidio da 203
 Vitruvius 37
 Voltaire, Arouet de 18, 36
 Vondel, Joost van den 147, 148
 Vossius, Dionysius 185
 Vossius, G. J. 97, 105, 113
 Vossius, Isaac xiii, 5, 31, 37, 40, 45n, 49, 69, 86, 96, 105n, 112, 113, 132, 153, 173, 182, 184, 185, 188, 204, 227, 264, 276, 279, 311

Wachtmeister, Agnes Margareta 40, 314
 Waite, A. E. 93n
 Walton, Brian 110
 Wasenau, Count 243, 244
 Wasmuth, Matthias 23, 177n
 Watson, Richard A. xiv, 48, 249n
 Weibull, Curt 5–8, 11, 12, 20, 211, 221, 230, 232, 315
 Weibull, Martin 35, 96
 Werve, Herman de 165n
 Wettermark, Arne 85n, 273n
 Whistler, Daniel 147
 Whitelocke, Bulstrode xiv, 39n, 115n, 134, 136, 157, 213, 220, 303, 313
 Wiesniewsky, Michael. King of Poland 243
 William III of Orange 194
 Wind, Edgar 145n
 Wiszowati, Andreas 237, 239
 Witt, Jan de 40n
 Wollimhaus, Simon 165–167
 Wrangel, Carl Gustav 75, 189, 246
 Wurtz, Paul 27, 28n, 246

Xenophon 97

Yates, Frances A. 119n, 142, 150–152
 Yllan, Garcia de 187, 188, 204

Zabarella 255
 Zamolxes, the Gothic Pythagorean 98n, 278
 Zeno the Cynic 55, 257
 Zoroaster 280
 Zucchi, Nicholas 265

BRILL'S STUDIES IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

Edited by A. J. VANDERJAGT

1. RICHARD H. POPKIN, *Isaac la Peyrère, 1596-1676. His Life, Work and Influence*. 1987. ISBN 90 04 08157 7
2. ANN THOMSON, *Barbary and Enlightenment. European Attitudes towards the Maghreb in the 18th Century*. 1987. ISBN 90 04 08273 5
3. PIERRE DUHEM, *Prémices philosophiques*. With an introduction in English by Stanley L. Jaki. 1987. ISBN 90 04 08117 8
4. TH. C. W. OUDEMANS and A. P. M. H. LARDINOIS, *Tragic Ambiguity. Anthropology, Philosophy and Sophocles' Antigone*. 1987. ISBN 90 04 08417 7
5. JOHN B. FRIEDMAN, (Ed.), *John de Foxton's Liber Cosmographiae (1408)*. An Edition and Codicological Study. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08528 9
6. F. AKKERMANN and A. J. VANDERJAGT (Eds.), *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius, 1444-1485*. Proceedings of the International Conference at the University of Groningen, 28-30 October 1985. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08599 8
7. WILLIAM LANE CRAIG, *The Problem of Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents from Aristotle to Suarez*. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08516 5
8. MARY STROLL, *The Jewish Pope. Ideology and Politics in the Papal Schism of 1130*. 1987. ISBN 90 04 08590 4
9. MICHEL STANESCO, *Jeux d'errance du chevalier médiéval. Aspects ludiques de la fonction guerrière dans la littérature du Moyen Age flamboyant*. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08684 6
10. DAVID S. KATZ, *Sabbath and Sectarianism in Seventeenth-Century England*. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08754 6
11. LUCIA LERMOND, *The Form of Man. Human Essence in Spinoza's Ethic*. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08829 6
13. LEWIS PYENSON, *Empire of Reason. Exact Sciences in Indonesia, 1840-1940*. 1989. ISBN 90 04 08984 5
14. E. CURLEY and P.-F. MOREAU, (Eds.), Proceedings of the Spinoza Conference, Chicago 1986. *In preparation*
15. YOSEF KAPLAN, HENRY MÉCHOULAN and RICHARD H. POPKIN, (Eds.), *Menasseh ben Israel and his World*. 1989. ISBN 90 04 09114 9
16. A. P. BOS, *Cosmic and Meta-Cosmic Theology in Aristotle's Lost Dialogues*. 1989. ISBN 90 04 09155 6
17. JONATHAN I. ISRAEL and DAVID S. KATZ, (Eds.), *Sceptics, Millenarians and Jews*. 1989. ISBN 90 04 09169 2
18. RICHARD C. DALES, *Medieval Discussions of the Eternity of the World*. 1990. ISBN 90 04 09215 3
19. WILLIAM LANE CRAIG, *Divine Foreknowledge and Human Freedom. The Coherence of Theism: Omniscience*. ISBN 90 04 09250 1
20. WILLEMIEN OTTEN, *The Anthropology of Johannes Scottus Eriugena*. 1990. ISBN 90 04 09302 8
21. S. ÅKERMAN, *Queen Christina of Sweden and Her Circle. The Transformation of a Seventeenth-Century Philosophical Libertine*. 1991. ISBN 90 04 09310 9